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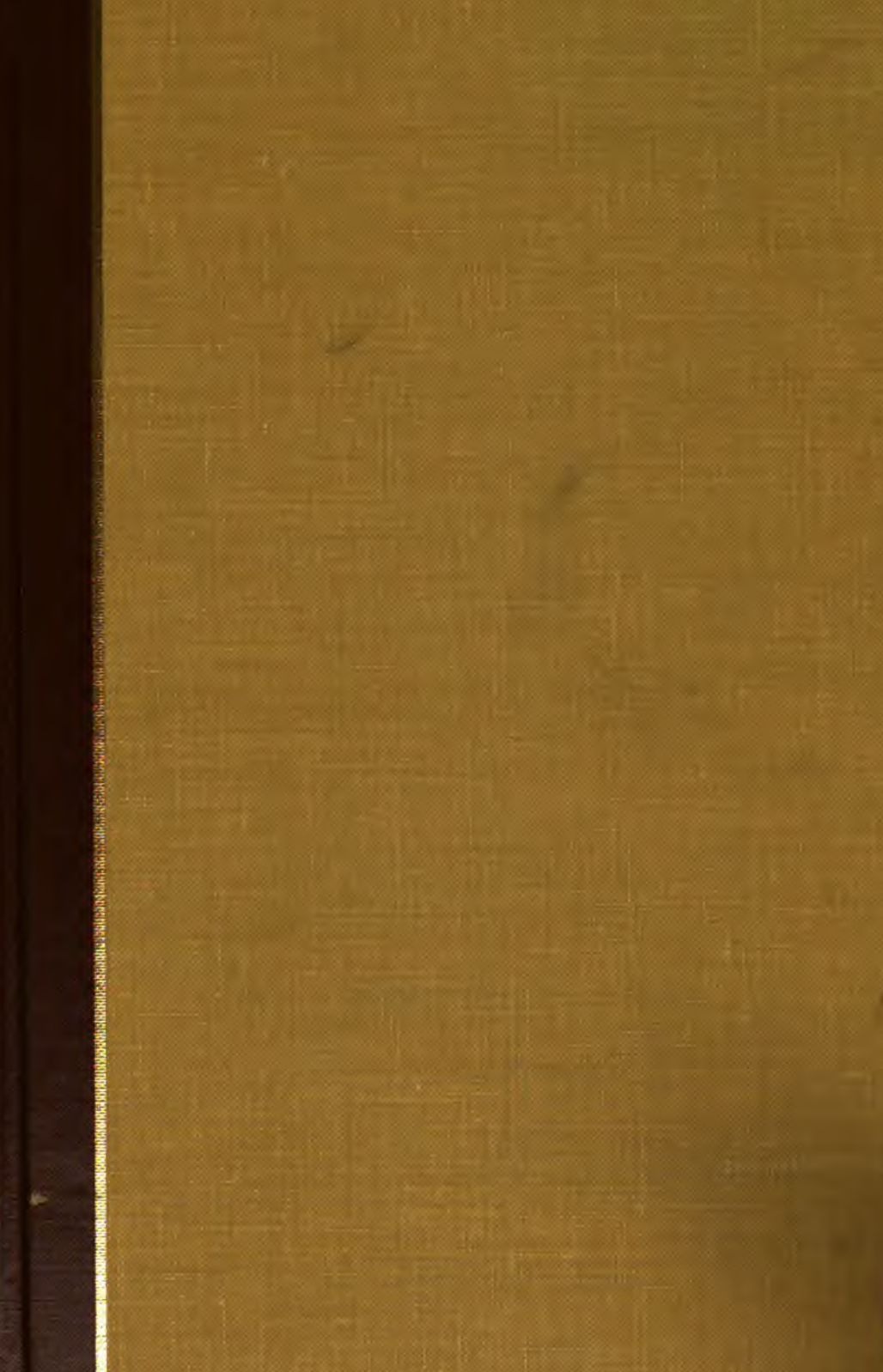
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EDITED BY
GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A.

ARCHÆOLOGY: PART II.

LONDON:
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1886

Now Reissued by
Singing Tree Press
1400 Book Tower, Detroit, Michigan 1968

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DA90
G44
v.6

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 67-23900

**Manufactured in the United States of America
by Arno Press Inc., New York, N.Y. 10017**



INTRODUCTION.



THIS volume is a continuation of the preceding one, and concludes our reprint of all the archæological papers on British and Anglo-Saxon subjects contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

The field of archæological inquiry in the previous volume had extended from the earliest times of pre-historic archæology to the barrow-building period of the British tribes, and it opened up considerable scope for inquiry into the earliest settlements in this island. But one important group of archæological remains was reserved for the present volume—Stones and Stone Circles, which forms the opening section of the following pages. It is not inadvisable that just now we should take stock of what has already been recorded of these remarkable monuments of antiquity, because, under the guidance of Mr. Lukis, the Society of Antiquaries has wisely devoted some of its funds to an investigation of these monuments of early Britain. One volume of Mr. Lukis's work, dealing with Cornwall, has been issued, and a further report was published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* for 1885. This report includes two monuments which are dealt with in the following pages—namely, Long Meg and her Daughters, and Carl Lofts, Shap, Westmoreland; and it will be found, upon comparing the accounts given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1752 and 1824 (see pp. 71-75) with that by Mr. Lukis

in 1884, that alterations have been made in the position of some of the stones. These records of decay or destruction are valuable adjuncts to any inquiry into the uses to which stones and stone circles were originally put ; and the time has surely arrived when the archæologists of England should produce authoritative memoirs on this important subject. It is distressing to think how much destruction has taken place in the past ; but for such information given on pp. 17, 73, 87, 92, 94, 102, 106, 115, we must be supremely thankful, while the interesting passage on p. 89, pointing out that in early days our ancient monuments were not placed in the unscrupulous hands of private owners, teaches us how in some respects we are not so much advanced in culture as the men of old.

The papers on Stonehenge and Avebury (pp. 75-101) record various changes in the condition of these monuments ; and the paper on pp. 76-82 treads upon the less secure ground of theory, giving a useful summary of the various ideas which have been promulgated from time to time as to the original use of Stonehenge. It was Aubrey who, in the seventeenth century, first started the idea that Stonehenge was a temple, and that the fallen stone in the western portion was an altar upon which the Druids sacrificed their victims. Erroneous ideas, when once they have been popularized, are the hardest to abolish. Great authorities have pronounced over and over again that this theory is altogether wrong and absurd, and yet, when I visited Stonehenge this last Easter, I heard the old familiar story repeated as if nothing had ever been written to disprove the wild assumptions of Aubrey and Stukeley. It is not suggested that the writers in the old *Gentleman's Magazine* are free from the prejudices of the "old antiquarianism," because we see "Druid Altar," "Temple," and other similarly unscientific terms used for the titles of their papers, but mixed up with these theories are important records of the existing state of these monu-

ments at a time when archæological surveys were not dreamt of. On p. 79 it is asserted, on the authority of Britton, that Roman coins were found *under* some of the larger stones at Stonehenge—a fact which will require substantial proof before it can be accepted, but which, if proved, would go a great way towards settling the long disputed question as to the date of this monument. But it is necessary to find out where the statement was first made and by whom. Besides these side-notes, there are some papers of substantive value which may fairly be considered distinct contributions to science. We may mention particularly the important communications on “Ancient Stone Chairs and Stones of Inauguration” (pp. 27-43), and “Holed Stones” (pp. 43-58), two subjects of very considerable interest. Great stones have very peculiar significance in the early history of some races; and among those who have inhabited Britain, the early Celts and the Scandinavians stand out conspicuously as stone-building people. It has often been suggested that our great stone monuments are not necessarily now in the state originally designed by those who set them up, destroyed or altered only by the hand of time or wilful destruction. If the early Celts first designed, Scandinavians very likely afterwards utilized many of them, and in so doing altered them to their own purposes. Forbes Leslie, in his *Early Races of Scotland*, points out some facts connected with this subject, and draws attention to some evidence as to the use of stones among primitive people. He says that the “God of each Khond village is represented by three stones” (ii. 497). In Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* it is noted that “in every village in which Shins are in the majority there is a large stone, which is still more or less the object of reverence; every village has its own stone, but an oath taken, or an engagement made over it, is often held more binding than when the Koran is used. In several villages goats are still annually sacrificed beside the stone, which is sprinkled with blood” (p. 114). And again, in a passage

from the *Indian Antiquary* (ii. 66), relating to the Kulwadi tribe of the Hassan district, it is said "when a village was first established a stone called 'Raru Kallu' is set up. To this stone the Patel once a year makes an offering." Instances like these could be multiplied extensively from all parts of the world, and they serve to explain how important it is for the proper elucidation of our own pre-historic history to gather up all the information possible about our great stone monuments. That stone-circles are sepulchral in origin is, I think, undoubted, and Mr. Lukis has put the matter in its most significant form by the explanation of his "iron-railing theory;" that single stones are political centre points in tribal history is equally, to my mind, undoubted, and equally capable of scientific proof.

The section entitled "Miscellaneous Antiquities: British Period," includes some interesting articles on subjects which have not come under any of the preceding sections, and one or two which were accidentally omitted.

To pass from British to Anglo-Saxon antiquities is, of course, not in strict chronological order, but the advisability of doing this is considerable. In the first place, it enables the present volume to finish one complete section of archæology, and it will also enable the next volume, on Roman Remains in Britain, to be equally complete. In the second place, Roman remains occupy very distinctly a chronological period of their own. They are not British in the sense that Celtic or Anglo-Saxon are British, because they represent only a temporary occupation of this island—an occupation having great permanent effects, we well know, but still temporary in its immediate effect. Therefore the jump from British to Saxon antiquities seems to be justified on more grounds than one.

It is important to know the places of Anglo-Saxon settlement and conquest, because the topography and condition of these remains greatly aid the historian in his labours. All who know Mr. Green's *Making of*

England, understand fully how graphic he has made his pages by a reference to the records of archæology; and if we possessed complete and careful accounts of Anglo-Saxon antiquities, the labours of the historian would be capable of much amplification. It is only of late years that history has paid attention to the earliest English period. Hume thought it was scarcely worth attention, and it was reserved for Palgrave, Kemble, Freeman, and Green to show that it is the very foundation of all later history. It is not too much to add that if these great authorities had had before them a complete archæological survey of this period, their own researches would have been more thorough and more correct. The various writers in the *Gentleman's Magazine* have preserved facts which but for them would have been lost, and in this light their labours, fragmentary though they necessarily are, must be considered.

The first section is devoted to "Early Anglo-Saxon Remains." This for the most part means pagan Saxondom. It gives us information of the doings of our ancestors when they first set foot in these islands—doings which led them invariably to the grave, and left their last resting-place as the only memorial of their busy and devastating lives. It is only when Christianity has stepped into the field that any signs are given of a life outside the battlefield and the camp. Such a contrast is an important point to have gained in estimating the value of the present volume of collections; and this, I venture to think, will be found to be the lesson which it teaches.

In the section on "Anglo-Saxon Local Antiquities" much curious information of a valuable kind is collected, leading directly to that historical study which is the *raison d'être* of archæological research. "Anglo-Saxon Ornaments" follows, and gives us some little insight into the culture of the earliest period of the English race. "Late Anglo-Saxon Antiquities" deals with a few Christian remains of the period, and lands the inquirer at the very threshold of the Norman Conquest.

The volume closes with an interesting section on "Scandinavian Antiquities," telling us, in one local instance, how important the result of this inroad was in settling the races of Britain. Scandinavians and English were first-cousins in blood, but they fought on English soil some of the sturdiest battles which either race had experienced. Their influence is now being more recognised by inquirers, and Mr. Thompson's paper will be estimated by all readers as not unworthy to rank among the various publications on the subject.

An interesting subject appertaining to the monumental remains dealt with in this volume is the legends sometimes told about them, and the popular names given to them. Of the former, that given on p. 25 of the wood called Snake Hill is a near parallel to the well-known story derived from Eastern sources of the devoted greyhound Gelert; and it is worth while suggesting whether, though our English peasants have lost the great stock of folk-tales which belong to other branches of the Aryan race, they may not still possess some of them under the guise of legends attached to some special localities or special objects, such as these great monuments. This is to some extent borne out by the curious names oftentimes attached to them, and which may perhaps be indicative of the story once told, but now, alas! lost. Thus, of popular names, we have in the following pages such curious instances as Alderman's Ground, Bridestone, Cannon Rocks, The Two Captains, Carl Lofts, Cold Harbour, Culpepper's Dish, Devil's Arrows, Devil's Dyke, Devil's Pulpit, Egmonds How, Frethevy-stone, Giant's Load, Grey Mare and her Colts, Grimsditch, Guggleby stone, Holy stone, Hulley's-Slack, Kitt's Coti house, Ladstones, Long Meg and her Daughters, Lowfield, Matlow Hill, Men-an-tol, Men-skryfa, Ned and Grace's Bed, Nine Maidens, Old Man at Mow, Pancake, Pots-and-Pans, Ringstone Edge, Robin Hood's Bed, Rise Hill Wood, Sazzen Stone, Shipley Hill, Skellow, Sleepy Low, Soldiers' Ring, Wolf Fold.

It is not surprising to find that the names attached to the contributions making up this volume are for the most part those of men not yet forgotten. Old friends appear also, such as T. Row, and Paul Gemsege for Dr. Samuel Pegge, George Hall, J. G. Nicholls. The new names which appear include Mr. Joseph Hunter, Assistant-Keeper of Public Records, who died in 1861; Mr. Edward T. Stevens, the author of *Flint Chips*, and one of the founders of the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury; Dr. John Thurnham, the celebrated craniologist; Mr. T. Crofton Croker; Mr. E. Donovan, the naturalist, who died in 1837; T. D. Fosbroke, the well-known antiquary, who died in 1842; Mr. James Thomson, the Leicester antiquary; Mark Antony Lower, the Sussex antiquary; Dr. G. C. Gorham, who died in 1857; J. K. Walker, M.D.; Joseph Chattaway; J. K. Moor; Edw. Rudge; A. C. Kirkmann; Samuel Hasell; George Yates; A. J. Dunkin; James Wyatt, F.G.S.; E. Pretty; T. H. Hunt; Dr. J. W. W. Smart; J. H. Hanshali; O. Cockayne; Dr. George Dodds; W. S. Hesleden; and then such well-known authorities as T. G. Bonney, J. J. A. Boase, J. T. Blight, R. R. Brash, Hodder Westropp; John Brent, F.S.A.; and C. Roach Smith.

G. L. GOMME.

CASTELNAU, BARNES,
June, 1886.





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Stones and Stone Circles.



STONES AND STONE CIRCLES.



Stone Circles and Megalithic Remains.

[1866, *Part II.*, pp. 307-318.]

THE antiquity of the human race and the condition of man in the ages before written history are among the most interesting problems of the present time. Facts disclosed by the careful scrutiny to which the earth's crust has been subjected have gone far to overturn opinions formerly regarded as beyond question, and a spirit of eager and earnest inquiry has taken the place of almost contemptuous neglect. Caves and gravel-beds, peat-mosses and lakes, barrows and burial-places, are undergoing careful examination, and every fragment of information which can be gathered from these or other sources, is carefully stored up. Primæval archæology now not only occupies a large space in the transactions of scientific societies, but also has been made the subject of entire works by several writers; among the most distinguished of whom are Lubbock, Lyell, and Wilson, in our own country; Desor, Nilsson, Troyon, Vogt, Waitz, and Worsaae, abroad. Not the least interesting remains of prehistoric times, although perhaps among the latest in date, are the megalithic structures so frequent in many parts of our own island. To these, and more especially to that class which are commonly called stone circles, the present article will be restricted. Its object, however, is rather to examine some of the theories which have already been advanced than to propound any new one; for, in the writer's opinion, there are not yet sufficient data to allow of any satisfactory solution of the problem. Still it may not be wholly useless to show wherein these theories are either erroneous or in need of further evidence.

It may be well to commence by explaining two or three terms which are commonly used to denominate the different forms of megalithic remains. The menhir is a block or post of stone; the word

means long-stone. The name dolmen (table-stone), or cromlech, is applied to a large slab supported on several upright blocks. The latter term is perhaps more common in England; on the Continent, however, it is used to designate a stone circle, while the former is restricted to these table-stones. In early works on antiquities, these structures are generally designated Druidical altars, and imaginative visitors have not been slow to discover the hollow in which the victim was laid, the channel down which his blood flowed, and other sacrificial adjuncts. The kistvaen is a box or cell formed by upright stones, and roofed by one or more slabs. Blocks which do not rise high above the ground are frequently called peulvans; and a stone circle may be defined as a ring of menhirs or peulvans. Logan or rocking-stones, and rock basins, will not enter into this article; for the writer does not think that they are yet proved to be the work of man.

There is a weird grandeur about these megalithic remains of ancient days, which can hardly fail to impress the most prosaic visitor. Grey with the lichen growth of centuries, they stand generally on some wild heath or commanding knoll—sermons in stones on the transient nature of man's life. Though loving hands may have laid the honoured corpse to rest under the dolmen's roof or the menhir's shade—though religious zeal, fervent but misdirected, may have reared the rude columns of the stone circle—all now are gone, the mourners and the mourned, the worshippers and the priests, their memory and their history an utter blank. The work indeed remains, but, as in so many and more beautiful monuments of less ancient days, the worker is forgotten.

Stone circles, which are perhaps the most interesting and the most perplexing forms of these remains of antiquity, are especially abundant in our own island. It must not, however, be supposed that they are at all uniform either in design or size. The simplest plan is a ring or oval of unhewn* upright stones. Examples of these may be found on Dartmoor, in Stennis (Orkneys), and at several places in western England and Wales. At Sunbrick Circles, in Furness (Lancashire), we have two concentric circles. At "Long Meg and her Daughters" (Cumberland), and at Rowldrich (Oxfordshire), we find two stones placed in advance of an opening in the ring, as if to form a kind of portal. The "Hurlers" (Cornwall) are a combination of avenues of menhirs and circles. At Botallek (Cornwall) the plan appears to have been founded on a series of interlacing circles of different sizes. Near Keswick (Cumberland)

* *Unhewn*, but for the most part, in the writer's opinion, *quarried*. Though perhaps boulders may have occasionally been used which were found to be of a suitable shape, yet generally their form appears too regular to be the result of accidental fracture; and though in most cases the lines of joints have been followed, art appears to have been called in to aid nature.

there is an oval, inside which is a sort of oblong cell, or "chancel," marked out by small stones; and in the neighbourhood of Inverness are at least three groups of double concentric circles, in the interior of which has been either an avenue leading to a third circle or an enclosure of some kind. The two most celebrated ruins in Great Britain are those of Avebury and Stonehenge, which surpass all the others in both the grandeur and the laboriousness of their plan.

The former has, indeed, suffered sadly from the greed of that modern vandal, the British farmer, who has turned an honest penny by using it for a stone-quarry. Descriptions, however, remain, which were made when it was tolerably perfect; and the works of Dr. Stukeley, corrected by the more careful surveys of Sir R. C. Hoare, enable us to form a pretty accurate idea of what it was in the days of its grandeur.

Within an irregularly circular earthwork, formed of an agger and an internal ditch, was a ring of upright stones about 1300 feet in diameter. This enclosed a pair of double concentric circles; within one of these was a central menhir, within the other there were two. On the south-east and south-west of the agger were openings, from which proceeded two sinuous avenues of upright stones; these were more than a mile long, and the latter was terminated by a double circle of stones. Unfortunately a village now stands within the agger; the last-named stone circle is obliterated, and only a few blocks remain here and there, as scattered monuments of departed grandeur. Stonehenge is very different from, and fortunately far more perfect than, Avebury; a piece of good luck due probably to its lonely situation on the open plain. Its plan may be described as a double circle surrounding a double oval; the inner circle and the inner oval are unhewn stones, like those in the other British circles, but the outer circle and the outer oval are roughly hewn blocks. This, however, is not its only peculiarity. The stones of the outer circle have been connected together by a series of impost blocks, so that it formerly resembled a gigantic post-and-rail ring-fence. The outer oval has probably consisted of six or seven triliths, each formed of a single impost block supported by a pair of upright shafts: these rise in height towards the central trilith, which is about $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the ground. On each of the uprights projecting tenons have been wrought, which fit into mortises cut in the under-surface of the impost blocks. In front of the largest trilith is a huge flat block, commonly called the altar-stone. The whole is enclosed by a slight earthen rampart, which is approached from the north-east by an avenue faintly marked by earthen banks, and on the left-hand side of this is a solitary menhir, about 16 feet high, which is now in a leaning position, and bears the name of the Friar's Heel. Two other stones are just inside the agger, nearly opposite to each other, bearing respectively east-south-east and west-north-west from the centre.

Conjectures, as it may be supposed, have been rife about this interesting, and, till lately, unique ruin,* some of which are sufficiently amusing. Inigo Jones saw in it a temple of the Tuscan order dedicated to the god Cœlus; Duke considered it an observatory or astronomical temple. Some declared it to be a triumphal monument of the ancient Britons; others a burial-place of British kings. Some made Boadicea the builder, others the Phœnicians, the later Britons, the Saxons or the Danes. It has also been asserted to be a Druidical temple, a theory sure to be popular, seeing that in England everything of unknown origin is instinctively assigned to one of four—Julius Cæsar, King Arthur, the Druids, or the Devil. In 1849 Mr. Herbert published a very learned but rather obscurely written book, entitled "Cyclops Christianus," in which he attempted to prove that Stonehenge was erected by the Britains after the departure of the Romans, at a period when there was a revival of the old pagan worship, and an establishment of an eclectic neodruidism, a phenomenon in some respects analogous to the institution of neoplatonism at Alexandria. Mr. Fergusson, in a very ingenious article in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. cviii., while agreeing with Mr. Herbert about the date, endeavours to show that its form points to a Buddhist origin, and that it is a cenotaph or memorial temple erected to those who died and were buried at Ambresbury.† The same view as regards the date was maintained in 1865 by Mr. Earle, in a most lucid lecture delivered at Bath; he, however, considers it to have been a temple dedicated to solar worship. Mr. Herbert's and Mr. Fergusson's arguments are in many respects the same, except that the former believes in the power of the Druids while the latter does not. Mr. Fergusson's remarks upon the peculiarities and influence of Buddhism, and the similarity between the megalithic structures of Western Europe and India, are very valuable. We think, however, that (as he is too fond of doing) he rather overstates his case, and attempts to prove too much.

His argument may be concisely stated as follows. He asserts that there is no mention whatever of stone circles in any of the Roman accounts of Britain, and that the earliest native historians—as Giraldus Cambrensis, Jeffrey of Monmouth, and others of about the same date—ascibe the erection of Stonehenge to the post-Roman era, while the traditions attached to the other stone circles and cromlechs all point to the same epoch; that the Britons, previous to the Roman conquest, were incapable of executing such works of art as these huge squared stones, with their mortises and tenons, or

* Mr. W. G. Palgrave ("Travels in Central Arabia," vol. i., p. 251) describes a stone circle very similar to Stonehenge.

† We see that he has lately settled the date of Avebury (*Athenæum*, Dec. 23, 1865). It is in commemoration of Arthur's twelfth great battle, and two of his generals are interred within the inner circles! This is almost as good as Dr. Stukeley's assigning Silbury Hill to the year of Sarah's death.

of raising such enormous masses ; that Silbury Hill, a large tumulus near Avebury, actually stands upon the Roman road ; and that, at any rate, these structures could not be Druidical, because the worship of the Druids was nemoral, and they were restricted to a small part of Britain, while "these remains are generally confined to the barren moors on the remote sea-coasts of Brittany and the Orkneys, where the trees never grew or could grow. On the other hand, though groves and trees were rife between Chartres and Rheims, or in the ancient country of the Carnutes, not one single Druidical remain is to be found within its limits." From this, though he does not explicitly say so, we conclude that he endorses Mr. Herbert's theory, that the megalithic remains of Brittany were erected by colonists from our shores who settled in Armorica.

The silence of historians is indeed remarkable, but negative evidence of this kind is of little value, especially in classical authors ; and popular tradition is of all guides one of the most fallacious. Occasionally, indeed, it is right ; but the chances in any particular instance are greatly in favour of its being wrong. The assertion concerning the position of Silbury Hill appears to us to have no ground, save in Mr. Fergusson's fertile fancy ; for it is flatly contradicted by the Ordnance maps, and by Sir John Lubbock, who together with Professor Tyndall, visited the spot expressly to test its accuracy. The limited space to which Mr. Fergusson attempts to confine the Druids, seems to us to find no support from Tacitus, and to be contrary to the testimony of Cæsar (B. G. vi. 13, 14), and of Chrysostom (Orat. xlix.). The former of these records a very remarkable tradition ; namely, that the rites of the Gauls were derived from Britain. Hence the religious colonisation of Armorica from our shores, which is pointed at by other Breton traditions, especially a very curious one concerning the secret of Carnac, is thrown back to a pre-Roman epoch. His assertions concerning the localities of the so-called Druidic remains and the inability of the early Britons to raise megalithic structures appear rash and unfounded ; but in order to show this, it will be necessary to consider somewhat in detail the connection of the various forms of these monuments.

The main points to be determined are, whether the stone circles, cromlechs or dolmens, and menhirs, are to be referred to the same period or not, and whether that is before or after the Roman invasion. We find in Brittany menhirs, kistvaens, and dolmens in close conjunction ; as, for example, in the neighbourhood of Lokmariaker, Carnac, and Plouharnel. Stone circles, though, in proportion to the abundance of menhirs and dolmens, less frequent than in England, occur in several parts of the country. Dolmens, kistvaens, and menhirs are abundant, not only in almost the whole of the ancient province of Brittany, but also in the department of Eure-et-Loir, and in the

very neighbourhood of Chartres—where there is also a stone circle—and are further found in those of Mayenne, Maine, Charente-Inférieure, Aube, Vivarais, Côte-d'Or, and Pyrénées-Orientales. In our own country we have the avenues of Avebury, reminding us of Carnac, together with the stone circles within the agger; the menhir of the Friar's Heel at Stonehenge; a menhir called the Kingstone, and a kistvaen close by the Rowldrich circle; the menhir "Long Meg," and the circle called "her Daughters"; the avenue and circle of Karlofts (Westmorland), and the Hurlers; besides many other instances. We, then, seem justified in considering these megalithic remains to be the work of the same race, though perhaps they may extend over a considerable period of time, and not be exactly synchronous in every country. It is also evident that this race, at whatever period it may have existed, occupied a considerable portion of Great Britain and France.

But this is not all: dolmens, kistvaens, menhirs, and stone circles, or some one or other of these forms, have been met with in Germany, Russia, and Savoy. There is a stone circle near Tyre; there are megalithic remains near Cappadocia; there are menhirs and dolmens, some of them surrounded by stone circles, in the Land of Moab; and dolmens, stone circles, and enclosures, with avenues of menhirs, in great abundance, in the province of Constantine (Algeria).

It seems, then, impossible to refer these remains—so close in their resemblances, and yet so wide apart in their situations—to a brief national revival, or to invading hordes after the decline of the Roman Empire: rather, they seem to mark the gradual westward progress of some race in periods anterior to the domination of Rome. Nor is this all. In those cases where skeletons have been found in dolmens, kistvaens, or chambered tumuli, the bodies seem usually to have been interred in a crouching posture,* a mode of burial which may be considered as proved to be one of the most ancient known; while the paste and patterns of the pottery, and the materials of the weapons and ornaments found in or near them, all point to an age anterior to that of the iron-wielding Roman. The structures themselves also exhibit some peculiarities which seem to show that they are pre-Roman.

Most of the dolmens and menhirs in Brittany are of unhewn stones; but in the neighbourhood of Lokmariaker are several which bear unmistakable marks of the chisel. On the capstone of one dolmen is a number of round holes, which are arranged in circles about one in the centre; on another are some rude incised carvings, resembling those which have lately been discovered in Northumberland, and some of those on the walls of the chambered tumulus

* Those of Constantine are very interesting. The tumulus is surrounded by one or more stone circles: on the top the dolmen is placed as a stelé, and the skeletons (crouching) are interred in separate kists below the mound.

at New Grange, in Ireland; on a third is an axe-like figure, together with a few curved lines; and the roof of a fourth (Dol-ar-Marchand) exhibits a symbol which many consider to be a celt, while on the central upright stone are some rows of curved lines, rather like a series of upright "pot-hooks." Still more, the walls of the gallery at Gavr Innis are covered by intricate patterns of curves, circles, and other devices.*

These examples seem to show a gradual progress in art; but it must be remarked that the patterns bear no resemblance to any post-Roman ornamentation. Though in intricacy and elaboration they vie with the devices on Runic crosses, they are entirely different in design. The argument is further strengthened by the fact that Lokmariaker was once a considerable Roman town, as is proved by the remains which have been discovered there. Close to it are the carvings just mentioned, and yet they do not exhibit the faintest trace of Roman art—or, indeed, of any later system of ornamentation with which we are acquainted. We seem, then, justified in concluding that the place was selected for a Roman station, as being already an important native town, and that these megalithic remains mark the tombs of its chiefs, who ruled before the coming of "the proud invader." Mr. Fergusson mentions one instance, in France, where the capstone, "a rude unhewn mass of rock, is supported by four slender columns of what we should call early English architecture." Hence he concludes that, "in the remote corners of France, the old superstition still lingered, and the old mode of burying the dead was still practised even as late as the twelfth century." That some remains of the old superstition lingered,† and even does still linger, there is no doubt; but that this monument is of the twelfth century we cannot allow. Mr. Fergusson gives no reference, and past experience in other matters has made us unwilling to trust his eyes; but even admitting the date of the carving, we cannot suppose it of the same age as the dolmen. These so-called Druidic stones were incorporated into Christian sanctuaries, as at Le Mans and Chartres; and many a menhir has been "christened" by

* There are also several other dolmens and chambers near Lokmariaker in which similar carvings have been found. The resemblance between these and some of the carvings in Ireland, as at New Grange, Dowth, and Slieve na-Caillighe, is most remarkable. In opening one of these Breton tumuli (Butte de César), eleven Roman coins, ranging from Tiberius to Trajan, were found in the surface soil. Among the dry stones forming the bulk of the tumulus were beads in coloured terra-cotta, and at a depth of 22 feet beads of jasper and agate, with bits of carbon and unglazed pottery, were discovered. The sepulchral chamber contained more than a hundred weapons of polished stone, jasper, tremolite, etc.—Proceedings R. I. A., vol. viii. 451.

† Higgins ("Celtic Druids," p. 213) states that the Lateran Council, A.D. 452, forbade the worship of stones, "in ruinosis locis et sylvestribus." Although this proves that the superstition was not extinct, the date of the decree seems also to show that the custom was earlier than the Christian era.

being wrought into a cross. Hence nothing would be more probable than that the original supports of the dolmen had been altered,—from a motive of mischief, of superstition, or of religion.

Has, then, the objection that these stones are too massive to have been raised by the ancient Gauls and Britons any great force? If indeed the popular notion, that our forefathers were a set of tattooed savages, running half-wild in the woods, be correct, it is certainly a difficulty; but we fancy this will not find much favour at the present day. The character of the undoubted remains of ancient Gaul and Britain, and the stubborn resistance which was offered to the Roman legions, afford little countenance to such an idea. If we have succeeded in showing that the Breton megaliths are pre-Roman, all difficulty with regard to Avebury and Stonehenge is removed. Many of the blocks at Carnac are more than 20 feet in height, and isolated menhirs often far exceed these. The grand menhir, close by Dol-ar-Marchand, now lying broken and prostrate, has been about 64 feet long, and nearly 14 feet by 8 feet in greatest breadth and thickness. The dolmen of Corcaneau, near Plouharnel, has a granite capstone some 26 feet by 13 feet, and from 2 to 3 feet thick, supported on upright stones which rise more than 5 feet above the soil. If, then, these masses could be raised in Gaul, there is surely no difficulty with any of those in our own country; and the wide geographical extent of these remains, their great number, as well as the progressive and peculiar character of the art which they exhibit, forbid us to assign the generality of them to so limited and disturbed a period as that which intervened between the departure of the Romans and the Saxon heptarchy.

Stonehenge is now generally admitted to be a building of two periods; the upright and impost blocks of wrought sarsen stone belonging to one, and the unhewn stones of metamorphosed rock to the other. Mr. Fergusson regards the former as the original temple, and the latter as the “danams” or memorial stones of later votaries. Surely the converse is much more probable. The circle and oval of unhewn stone denote the earlier sanctuary, which resembles those so common in other parts of Great Britain; the squared and chiselled blocks are the subsequent erection of a more civilized age. The exact date of this, we think, cannot as yet be positively fixed. There is certainly some evidence which tends to show that it was posterior to the Roman occupation; if, however, this is not the case, the great sarsen stones, like some of the Breton megaliths, cannot have been long prior to it. “Long Meg and her Daughters” offer, in many respects, an interesting parallel to Stonehenge. The “Daughters” are an oval of unhewn blocks of granite, green slate, porphyry, and other rocks of the Lake District. “Long Meg” is a menhir of the sandstone of the neighbourhood (new red), and on the side of it an incised circular ornament, similar to those in Northumberland, was noticed

by Sir G. Wilkinson. This seems to mark it as the work of a later age. However, the nation which set up the "Daughters" cannot have been very barbarous; for some of them are about 11 feet by 4 feet, and stand 7 feet out of the ground; and even if (as may be the case) they are boulders, they must have been collected from a considerable distance, as erratic blocks are not common in the district.

These considerations—namely, the geographical extent, character, and sculpture of megalithic remains, the mode of burials with which they are associated, and the material of the weapons (polished stone or bronze), the ornaments, and the pottery, found with them—seem to justify us in concluding that, with the exception perhaps of the sarsen stones of Stonehenge, they are the work of a nation which lived before the so-called iron age, and consequently before the Roman invasion of Gaul and Britain.

It remains to discuss briefly some of the theories concerning the purpose and meaning of the stone circles. Mr. Fergusson considers them to be sepulchral, or at any rate monuments of the dead. In proof of this he cites many interesting facts to show that the influence of Buddhism extended into the West, and that there is a singular resemblance in plan and form between the megalithic remains of Great Britain and India. While fully sensible of the value of his remarks, we are inclined to doubt whether he has proved his point. There are, doubtless, in addition to the case which he brings forward, dolmens in Malabar, the Deccan, and the Carnatic, with stone circles in the last two places; and in Siberia there are similar megalithic remains, which according to the Chinese historians date from about the 7th century after Christ; and have, therefore, at any rate in some cases, been erected by the followers of Buddha. It does not, however, follow that the Buddhists may not have adopted and incorporated into their own ritual customs which were already in existence; just as Judaism retained some slight trace of the Egyptian worship, and, in a still greater degree, Western Christianity appropriated that which was harmless (and sometimes more) in Paganism. Consequently, we cannot admit that the points of similarity between the megalithic worship of the East and of the West prove more than a community of origin.

Mr. Earle, in the lecture to which we have already referred, maintains stone circles to be temples, and to be connected, in all probability, with solar worship. In the case of Stonehenge, the arguments upon which he mainly relies are the following:—1. An observer, standing inside the temple with his back to the altar-stone, and looking towards the Friar's Heel, will see it through the principal entrance, and will find that on the morning of the 21st of June the sun rises exactly over it. 2. The shape of these inclosures and their Welsh name, *Chor*, a word of mystic signification, meaning "round," may

be emblematical of the sun. 3. The coins of ancient Britain and Gaul have been copied, though often very rudely, from the Greek Philippus, a coin which bears on the obverse a laureated head, on the reverse a two-horse chariot. Now, though much of these devices is often so badly executed that its origin would hardly be suspected, still the horse is generally tolerably well preserved; and while the greater part of the chariot is lost, the wheel is retained; this, too, is often replaced by a double circle of dots, exactly resembling the ground plan of a temple. On some coins a rayed sun, a crescent moon, and star appear, which, with the horse, a symbol of the flight of time, all point to a worship of the heavenly bodies. We know, as a positive fact, that this is one of the earliest and most persistent forms of paganism; that it did prevail among the Phœnicians, where, as has been already remarked, one stone circle at least is known; and that the moon was worshipped by the Druids. 4. He maintains that the plain does not derive its name of Salisbury from the town, for that, until the sixteenth century, was always called Sorudunum, or Sarum, which title it even now retains. Salisbury he considers to be identical with Solesbury, and with Salisbury Crags, near Edinburgh (which, by the way, is close to Arthur's Seat), and to be connected with Sul, the British name for the sun.

These arguments appear to us to be of great weight. It is indeed true that stone circles are often found surrounding cairns and burial-places; as, for example, at Heathwaite (in Furness), near Inverness, in Scandinavia, in Algeria, in India, and in Siberia.* In most cases, however, there are no signs of sepulture. The commanding positions selected for these circles, the presence of well-marked entrances, the inner chapels or enclosures, seem to connect them more closely with religious than with funeral purposes. We cannot forget the great antiquity of Baal or Sun worship, or the circular form of the temple on the sanctuary of Mount Hermon. The menhirs also may sometimes be "stelæ"; but as there are other purposes to which "pillars of stone" are known to have been applied, we must not overlook a possible connection with phallic worship, as emblems of the generative principle. Distinct traces of this have been discovered among the primæval antiquities of Scandinavia, and the Lingam stones of India are too well known to need more than a passing allusion.

The next few years will probably throw much light on this obscure yet fascinating subject: at present, however, all the evidence which we possess tends to prove that the majority of these megalithic remains belong to an age anterior to that of the Roman occupation of Gaul and Britain; and that they were the work of a race who, in all probability, were unacquainted with the use of iron, perhaps even in some cases with that of bronze. Part of Stonehenge alone, we

* Here, according to the Chinese historian, the number of the stones denotes how many men have been slain by the dead warrior.

think, must be assigned either to the end of the Bronze Age, or to the sixth century after Christ. The evidence which we possess seems on the whole rather to favour the later date. We, cannot, however, consider it to be a monument, but a temple, standing on the open downs among almost countless sepulchral mounds, like a cathedral in its grave-yard. Once, as at the Carneillou of Trégunc, the temple was but a double ring of unhewn stones; afterwards, a more highly civilized people, though it left untouched the blocks painfully brought from far by its ancestors, erected the vaster and more elaborate structure which now diverts the attention of visitors from the older fabric.

T. G. BONNEY, M.A.

[1866, *Part II.*, pp. 493-495.]

In the very interesting article on "Stone Circles and Megalithic Remains," by Mr. Bonney, in your September number, there is a slight passing reference to "the walls of the gallery at Gavr Innis, covered by intricate patterns of curves, circles, and other devices." A more detailed account of this, in some respects, most curious of all Celtic monuments may not perhaps be unacceptable to your readers; and having specially visited the place during a tour round Brittany, in the summer of 1865, the following extract from my journal is at your service should you deem it worthy of a place.

I started early this morning for Locmariaker, situated at nearly the extremity of a long, narrow peninsula. A little beyond Crach the sea of Morbihan* opened to view, presenting, with its numerous islands, a splendid panorama. Just before reaching Locmariaker, I alighted to see a magnificent cromlech, in fine preservation, called the "Mané Lud," or Mound of Ashes, probably so named from some human remains having been found therein. It is situated in an enormous oblong tumulus, of which it occupies one end. The stones forming the entrance gallery, nearly as wide as the chamber to which it gives access, are very large. This has been long known; but several others in the same tumulus have been recently opened, and partially ruined by official riflers in search of spoil to enrich the Museum at Vannes. The first thing, on arriving, I went to the port to bargain for a boat to take me to "Gavr Inis" (Goat's Island), a league distant, and finally agreed for four francs, after having been asked seven. By eight o'clock I was sailing across the dreaded Morbihan (which has a bad reputation for its difficult navigation, caused by conflicting currents), the surface just rippled into wavelets by a gentle breeze, and glistening under the bright rays of a cloudless sun. A little quay, formed of irregular masses of rock, slippery

* Morbihan means the little sea, from "mor," water, and "bian" or "vian," little. So the old name of Brittany, "Armorica," means "on the sea," as similarly the "Morini," a Gaulish tribe in the Calais district, were "the sea-men." The word "mor" has the same signification in Sanscrit, and is to be found with varying vocalization in almost every Indo-European tongue.

with seaweed, gives access to the island. On its south side rises a circular mound, composed of loose stones, some 150 feet diameter at the base, and 25 feet high, having at present a depressed truncated summit, which was probably once conic, and the mound of still greater height. A few persons were aware, many years since, that amid the thorns and briars that filled the crater-like depression there was an opening into a cave, which occasionally served as a place of concealment; and there was also a tradition that a gallery existed under the mound, the correctness of which a gentleman of the name of Cauzique, on purchasing the island, determined to test. Descending into the cave through the opening above, he at once discovered that it was a cromlech, partially filled with rubbish, which he had cleared out. This being done, the walls were found to be of solid blocks of stone on every side but the east, which proved to be the beginning of a gallery which had also been filled in from end to end up to the very roof, and on reaching its extremity the original entrance was laid open. That it had been designedly blocked up was self-evident, and may account for the existing crater, from which the stones were most likely taken for the purpose. The question *when* is not so easily answered; but it was probably done in obedience to the Early Church, which launched more than one anathema against the worship of stones.* The gallery, nearly 40 feet long, and from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ wide, being narrowest at the entrance, is not more than 5 feet high; so that persons above that height must stoop as they proceed. Its sides are formed of upright stones, twelve to the right hand, and eleven to the left, which support nine covering ones; and the pavement, also formed of large slabs of stone, has four or five steps at unequal distances. The chamber, about 8 feet square and nearly 6 high, is composed of eight stones, counting the end ones of the gallery, and is covered in by a single stone, a similar one forming the floor. All these enormous masses are of granite, and of a kind not found in the island, exclusive of the seventh stone on the right side, which is of quartz. But now comes the interesting fact connected with this monument, and which distinguishes it from all others. The whole of the stones, except the quartz one—the sides, roofing, and floor of both chamber and gallery—are covered with figures, some in relief and some incuse, thus combining the distinctive features of both Mexican and Egyptian sculpture. The figures appear to be incoherent and capricious; but it does not follow that they are so. Possibly we have before us the symbols of an extinct language, of which the key is wanting, and may never be found.

* Arnobius the elder, about the beginning of the fourth century, in his famous work against the Pagans, mentions the worship of "Informes Lapides," a practice denounced by the council held at Tours in A.D. 567, and subsequently in the proceedings of the council of Nantes, with especial reference to the Armoricans.

The most remarkable stone of the whole group is on the left side of the chamber, as, in addition to the sculptures, it has in the centre three circular apertures, divided by vertical bands, forming two solid handles, and, passing your arms through these openings, the lower part of the stone is found to be hollowed, for what purpose no adequate reason has been as yet assigned. It may be suggested that the handles were employed for the fastening of human victims about to be sacrificed; but the space behind, which must have been a work of extreme difficulty, would, on this supposition, appear useless. The sculptures consist principally of curved and concentric lines, circles interlacing each other, celt-like figures arranged in twos and threes, and others in columns, somewhat resembling arrow-headed characters. On one stone are three serpents or figures of a serpentine form; whilst on another is seen what appears to be an axe with its handle; and this is found on some other cromlechs. Gustave de Closmadeuc, Membre de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan, to whom I am indebted for several of these particulars, has given it the distinctive and appropriate name of "signe asciforme." The last slab, forming the floor of the gallery, has on the side next the chamber a succession of chevrons, forming what may perhaps be intended for a border. After inspecting the interior, for which, including a light, there is a charge of twenty-five cents, I ascended to the summit of the mound, commanding a most glorious view of the archipelago, which the natives tell you has as many islands as there are days in the year.

On regaining the mainland I had time before returning to Auray (to take the train for Vannes, *en route* for St. Gildas de Rhuis) to see, a little to the south-west of Locmariaker, the magnificent cromlech, called indifferently La Table de César, and the Dol-ar-Marchant, whose covering stone is 32 feet long by 16 feet broad, and more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. Near it is the largest of all known menhirs, now prostrate and broken into four pieces, which measure together about 65 feet. It is known here, I find, as the Men-ar-Groach, or the Sorcerer's Stone; and how it could have been placed in an upright position, its estimated weight being more than two hundred tons, except by supernatural means, seems an inexplicable mystery. The obelisk in front of St. Peter's at Rome, which is only some 18 feet higher, and from its shape not nearly so heavy, cost the celebrated Fontana almost a year to raise with the assistance of the most powerful machinery; while the erection of the obelisk of Luxor, at Paris, by Le Bas, was a work of immense labour with all the appliances of modern times. The inclined plane, which might have been sufficient as regards most of the menhirs, could hardly have been adequate in this instance.

I will just remark, in conclusion, that after seeing the three cromlechs at Plouharnel, the one under St. Michael's Mount at Carnac, the Mané Lud, near Locmariaker, that at Gavr Inis and others, it seems

to me highly probable that every cromlech, or at least every one with a covered gallery leading to it, was originally the nucleus of a superincumbent mound, although this in many instances, from various causes which might be easily enumerated, may have long since disappeared. We can, on this supposition, account naturally for the closed way, of which it would be otherwise extremely difficult to give a satisfactory explanation.

I am, etc. JOHN J. A. BOASE.

[1868, *Part I.*, pp. 308-319.]

Of the pre-historic remains still left to us, few have been the objects of more speculation as to their origin and use than the circles of standing stones. Many have been destroyed in succeeding ages—in the course of the advancement of agriculture, and by other causes—whilst those remaining owe their preservation chiefly to the fact of occupying portions of land unfit for the plough. Thus most of them stand beyond the scenes of the daily labour of man, silent testimonies of the existence of a people who had trod this soil so long ago that, even at the earliest period of which we have records, these monuments were subjects of superstitious regard. The wild and uncultivated scenes by which they are surrounded lend to them a peculiarly weird and mysterious aspect. To every wayfarer, archæologist, painter, or poet they are objects of attraction. To a ruined circle Keats compares his “bruised” Titans :—

“ One here, one there,
Lay vast and edgeways, like a dismal cirque
Of Druid stones, upon a forlorn moor.”

Nor is there any more impressive evidence of the mutability of human affairs than these rude, lichen-stained stones. They, themselves but the relics of once perfect structures, have yet, even in their ruined condition, outstood the downfall of cities, and have remained whilst palaces and the finest works of art have become mere refuse heaps, or have crumbled to dust.

Who were the builders of these structures, and for what purpose were they designed, have long been the inquiries sought to be answered by anxious students ; and though there are yet many difficult points to be explained, the researches made in recent years have thrown considerable light on the subject. Many of the numerous theories and fancies which earlier writers had woven around these monuments have been cleared away. Speculation, however, probably did no harm ; and the attempted explanations by learned men of the last century served, perhaps, but to pave the way for the more practical observers of the present day.

That many of these circles were reared previously to the arrival of the Romans in this country is very generally admitted by pre-historic antiquaries, as well as by those whose studies have not extended

beyond authenticated periods of history. Some circles of a sepulchral character were possibly constructed during the Roman occupation; and circular enclosures to barrows were formed in Anglo-Saxon times. The different modes of interment, and the character of the relics discovered within tumuli, would, of course, clearly indicate the period of each. But as many circles have been denuded of their mounds, and as the structures which may have existed within them have been long since destroyed, the bare rings of upright pillars stand in several instances as perplexing puzzles, rendering the intention of the primitive architect, and the purpose of his work, difficult to explain.

My object, however, is more to note the structures than the purposes for which they were raised, though, sometimes, the careful observation of the former seems clearly to interpret the latter. That many of the simple circles of upright stones, popularly known as "Druidic Circles," were constructed as mere ring fences, is evident from the more complete remains of other structures of this class, and of which the circle near the Mulfra Cromlech in Cornwall, described in Dr. Borlase's "Antiquities of Cornwall" as the Zennor Circle, may be referred to as an example. This was formed by continuous walling between the uprights, a mode of building well known to those who have examined British masonry. It has been noticed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in his remarks on this subject in the "Journal of the British Archæological Association." Uprights were placed at tolerably regular intervals, then courses of smaller stones blocked the intervening spaces (fig. 1), as if the ground plan had first been marked out by the pillars, and completed in the way described. I could refer to a great number of examples of this sort of work. It was adopted in the hut circles, or cyttiau, in the hill castles, and in tumuli. In many instances, in either class of these structures, which still exist in a comparatively good state of preservation, the removal of the smaller courses of masonry from between the larger uprights would leave most excellent "Druid Circles." Sometimes the uprights touched each other, forming of themselves a continuous circle, as shown by the barrow with kistvaen in the parish of Sancreed, Cornwall (fig. 2). (See "Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall," vol. 1.) The diameter of this circle is about 15 feet, the height of the stones averages 3 feet; in the centre is a perfect stone chamber or kistvaen, covered with a mound of earth.

The next step in circular building consists of concentric rings of stones, of which a small example exists on Kenidzhék Head, in the parish of St. Just, Cornwall (fig. 3). Here the diameter of the barrow is 32 feet, the circles being about 2 feet apart, with the stones almost close together, the greater number rising barely more than a foot above the ground, though two or three are between 3 and 4 feet in height. In the centre are the remains of a kistvaen. A portion

of this circle has been cut away by the erection of a stone fence at the back of the targets of the St. Just Rifle Corps. Of this type the Oatland Circle, in the Isle of Man (fig. 4), affords a large example. Its outer ring, of which but three or four stones are left, was about 45 feet in diameter; the inner one 15 feet, with a kistvaen in its midst. As on the external face of one of the uprights of the inner circle there are rows of cup carvings (see "*Archæologia Cambrensis*," vol. xiii, 3rd series), it may be presumed that this was always exposed to view;* that the mound rose from the base of the inner circle to cover the interment; whilst the outer circle formed merely a protecting fence, leaving a clear passage between the two rings. The St. Just barrow had both circles covered.

In the three instances given above the interment was in the centre of the barrow, but there are some cases in which even the principal chamber was placed on one side, as at the barrow on Trewavas Head, in Cornwall (see "*Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*," vol. ii.), the outer circle of which measures about 35 feet in diameter, the inner one, of low stones, 19 feet 6 inches, the stone chamber being constructed within a foot of the inner circle on the south-west side (fig. 5). Mr. Stuart, in "*The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*," vol. ii., notices a similar arrangement occurring at Ballindalloch, in Banffshire, where a cromlech still remains on the south side, immediately within the circumference of the inner circle.

In some cases the circle itself was the part of the structure used for interment, as shown by the remarkable circle of kistvaens on the Mule Hill in the Isle of Man (fig. 6). Here may be seen the remains of a number of stone chambers, following consecutively, or at least with very little space left between them, and thus forming a circular stone structure, over which, as a writer suggests, with much plausibility, in the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*," was raised a covering of earth; the whole, when first constructed, presenting the appearance of an annular embankment. The diameter of this circle is 55 feet. This peculiar structure was first noticed by Mr. Halliwell in his "*Roundabout Notes on the Isle of Man*." A circle of sepulchral chambers also existed underneath a great tumulus in Jersey (fig. 7), and is described in Mr. Lukis's interesting paper on the construction of chambered barrows in the "*Journal of the British Archæological Association*," and from which the annexed diagram is taken. This "was a round barrow enclosing a series of six cists surrounding a central arched or domed space, to which admission was gained by means of a covered way or passage."

The preceding examples of circular walling all bear traces of

* These marks are not, however, decisive proof that such was the arrangement, as rock carvings have been found on the stones composing the buried chambers of tumuli.

having been mound-covered or as marking the limits, or forming the bases, of tumuli. We now come to consider those larger monuments consisting of standing stones, which are more particularly known as "Druid Circles," and regarding which many theories have been advanced. They have been considered as Druid temples—temples for sun worship—places of meeting for chiefs and kings in council, each man standing by his own pillar, and for various other ceremonial observances. Dr. Borlase, in his description of stone circles in Cornwall, commences with that at Boskednan, in Gulval, as a good example of a simple circle of stones erect. With the exception of one sacred part in ruins, he appears to have considered this as a true type of a proper circle, used as a place of worship. By a recent examination of this monument I found that it is no other than the remains of the enclosing base-circle of the larger portion of a "twin-barrow." The smaller of the two, 36 feet in diameter, existing as a cairn of small stones, though it has been much disturbed, on the south side, as shown in fig. 8.*

The larger circle is nearly 70 feet in diameter, and consists, at present, of eleven stones, three of which are prostrate; those standing average from 4 feet to 6 feet in height. On the north side, within the larger circle, some portion of the mound may still be seen. In Dr. Borlase's time, thirteen stones were standing, six prostrate (fig. 9). About 270 yards north-west of this "circle" are the remains of another "twin-barrow"—the larger 35 feet in diameter, the smaller 24 feet. Both mounds consisted of cairns of stones; which, to some extent, still exist, though within my remembrance they have been much mutilated. At A B (fig. 10), are stones which seem to have formed portions of a grave, or kistvaen. Twelve enclosing stones remain of the larger circle, of which the tallest measures 6 feet 3 inches in height, and, were all the interior stones removed, it would stand as a "Druidic circle," as good as its neighbour known as the Boskednan Circle, and described by Dr. Borlase as a good representative of the whole class of Druid circles. It will be seen by the accompanying plans of both, that they were designed for the same purpose, the difference between them being, that one is in a worse state of dilapidation than the other. Remains of other barrows similarly formed occur in the vicinity. There were two within a few hundred yards of the "twin-barrow" last described, the greater portions of which have recently been taken away to build a neighbouring hedge, but of which I found enough to show how they were built. First there was an enclosing circle of stones, some placed upright, some longitudinally (fig. 11), the intention being simply to make an enclosing fence; within this the grave was constructed, then small stones heaped over the whole, the cairn extending, by about

* A person residing in the neighbourhood of Penzance informed me that some labourers, about twenty years ago, found urns in this barrow.

6 feet; outside the built circle, as shown in the section (fig. 12). The more perfect of the "twin-barrows" also had the cairn extending beyond the circle.

Though the Boskednan Circles were clearly cairn-bases, there are many circles whose diameters are so great that it cannot be conceived that there ever existed within them mounds so vast as to occupy all the enclosed space. These larger circles should rather be regarded as great enclosing outworks for the protection of a group of barrows, or lesser circles, as was probably the case with Long Meg and her Daughters in Cumberland, and possibly also with the Rollrich Stones in Oxfordshire, though in the latter there are no internal remains. The Boscawen-ûn Circle, in Cornwall, 80 feet diameter (fig. 13), still retains some vestige of an inner structure, in the form of an inclining pillar, 9 feet in length. Smaller circles on this plan I have also noticed at Aber in North Wales. (See "*Archæologia Cambrensis*," vol. xi., 3rd series.) In one of these (fig. 14) there were two circles, with a pillar in the midst of the inner one. And the great circle of Callernish, in Scotland, has also this central pillar. Whether these remaining pillars be portions of cromlechs, or were simply the centres of cairns, it is not always easy to determine. To mark the sites of interment in smaller tumuli, single upright blocks of stones have been found, as at the tumulus at Berriew, in Montgomeryshire (fig. 15), where, underneath the covering-mound, were three stones, several feet apart, unconnected with any structural arrangement (see "*Archæologia Cambrensis*," vol. iii., 3rd series). Much might have depended on the quality of the deceased, or on other causes, as to the nature of the place for the ashes or the body. The spot might be indicated by a single stone, by the mere deposit of ashes on the ground or on a flat stone, or by a kistvaen, or chamber of stone. Different methods occur in the same tumulus. I have found in a barrow an urn inclosed by stones placed carefully around it; whilst within a few feet the ashes of another body had been left on the bare ground with a few flints only, and without protection of any kind other than the mound raised over the whole.

A large circle (fig. 16), 27 yards in diameter, over Penmaenmawr, in North Wales, which I visited in 1864, appears to have been constructed by several uprights connected by smaller masonry. Here the interments were apparently made beside the pillars. Against the inner side of the tallest pillar, A, on the eastern part, were the remains of a small kistvaen; while against the pillar B, facing it on the opposite side, was heaped a small carnedd. The whole is surrounded by a ditch, within which, at C, is another small cairn. There are other stone enclosures in the vicinity; one, at the distance of a few hundred yards to the west, is of elliptical form. A circle at Helmen-Tor, in Cornwall, also has the enclosing ditch. This ditch, however, though serving as a sort of protection, owes its existence

to the excavation of the earth for raising a vallum or a central mound.

Next in order to single circles, with or without traces of internal structures, may be classed groups of large circles, like the "Hurlers" (fig. 17) near the Cheese-wring in Cornwall. Remains of four of these circles still exist. Three were placed in a line running about north-north-east by south-south-west. The northernmost is 37 yards from the centre one, from which to the southernmost the distance is 31 yards. 120 yards north-west of these are two stones of the fourth circle. The spaces between the uprights must have averaged about 10 feet when the circles were complete. Their height is from 2 feet to 5 feet 6 inches. The diameter of the north circle is 97 feet; the centre one, 136 feet. There are no traces of internal works. As mere circles of standing stones, these have, doubtless, thus appeared for centuries. The name of "Hurlers" was given them in the popular belief that they were once men engaged in the Cornish game of hurling. In Fuller's "Pisgah-Sight of Palestine," they are thus referred to: "But most listen to it, as to a fable, and the Hurlers in Cornwall (men metamorphosed into stones, as tradition reports, for playing on the Lord's Day) might fitly serve to build a bridge over this river."

Many of the Cornish circles, whatever may be the number of the stones, are also known by the name of the "Nine Maidens," from the tradition that they were dancers turned into stone for dancing on the Lord's Day. Why those with more or less than nine should be thus designated, is unaccountable. Two or three circles happening each to consist of nineteen stones have, from this fact, afforded to some sufficient ground on which to raise theories relative to a numerical signification.

One of the greatest puzzles in stone circles is Dr. Borlase's figure of those which stood at Bottalack (fig. 18), and which represents a group intersecting each other in the most curious manner. Possibly these were not sepulchral, but the remains of hut circles with surrounding enclosures. The skeletons of many such structures still existing might present a similar appearance in the ground plan.

Of circles with long avenues attached, the great examples, of course, would be those which once existed at Avebury, Wilts (fig. 19), in which are combined most of the elements of construction found in early circular tumuli. First, there is a great ditch, with a circle of stones within it, exemplified on a smaller scale by the Penmaenmawr and Helmen-Tor circles described above. Then, as in numerous instances already given, internal circles of stones, within which were central structures, of which evidence still exists, two of the great pillars near the farm-house, and which stood inside the northern circle, were placed at an angle, and could not have formed part of a circle. Stone avenues led to the whole work from two directions.

This plan of circular works approached by avenues occurs also in

the passage-barrows, of which examples may be found in Mr. Lukis's paper previously referred to ; and in the Callernish Circle (fig. 20) the same principle of construction is seen.

Some of the Cornish caves, also, in ground plan would present not dissimilar figures. Remove the roofing-stones and walls from the Chapel Uny Cave (fig. 21), and there would be an avenue leading to a circle. The New Grange Tumulus would also bear some resemblance to this kind of work.

Therefore it may be submitted for consideration, whether the great uncovered stone avenues—too extensive ever to have been buried—did not owe their existence to the same motive which caused the smaller stone passages leading to the interior of tumuli. Thus a comparison of the mode of structure of the lesser with the greater monuments may serve to throw some light on the purposes of both, and dispel or support some of the numerous theories which have been brought forward. Avebury has been considered as a temple of the Druids ; a Dracontine temple ; a temple of the Cabiri and of "the ever Blessed Trinity" ; circles for councils and sacrifices ; temple of the Celtic Mercury—Teutates ; as a planetarium containing temples of the sun and moon, and as a great burial-place. Though Avebury may to some degree be compared with the smaller circular buildings, Stonehenge stands alone. It was a circular structure of vast pillars ; but its plan cannot well be brought in comparison with other existing remains in this country or elsewhere.* But in one respect this great national circle is like others in being in the midst of a burial-field. Examinations that have been made of some of the larger circles—sometimes called temples—have shown that they were also at one time used for the burial of the dead. An exploration of the Callernish Circle proved that it was once, if not originally, used for this purpose. On the east side of the central pillar was found a cist containing fragments of human bones, which seemed to have been subjected to the action of fire. (See Proceedings, Soc. Antiq. of Scotland, vol. iii.)

Attention has recently been directed to certain ecclesiastical laws of the Anglo-Saxons, forbidding the people to make a "frith-geard" round a tree, stone, or fountain, in accordance with certain Pagan rites or superstitions. These "frith-geards" are presumed to have formed circular enclosures in the manner of the "Druid circles." But whether our circles be pre-Celtic, Celtic, or Saxon, it seems very clear that there runs throughout the whole class one predominating idea, which was simply to form, without regard to the number or size of stones employed, an enclosure for the protection of something within, either the remains of the dead, or some object of religious veneration. A mere circle of pillars, ten, twelve, or

* Mr. Palgrave, however, in his "Travels in Central Arabia," describes a circle resembling Stonehenge.

twenty feet apart, could not answer this purpose ; consequently it is fair to conclude that the circles were not constructed as many of them now appear ; but that these are skeletons only of fences or boundaries of continuous circular masonry—or of pillars connected by earthen mounds—and therefore a ruined circle cannot possibly afford sufficient data for the formation of a plausible explanation of its original use, and of the intention of its builders, from the present accidental relative position of one stone to another.

J. T. BLIGHT.

[1843, *Part II.*, pp. 361-365.]

[The first portion of this article, being speculative, is omitted.]

In Cumberland we may find examples of remains of Druidical monuments, of a circular form. In the parish of Whitbeck several such exist. I will mention one, near Gutterby, which at the present day bears the name of kirk-stones. It is composed of thirty stones, which form parts of two circles, an interior and exterior one, similar in position to those of Stonehenge. In the parish of Millum, in the same county, there *did* exist the remains of a Druidical temple, which the country people called "sunken kirk," *i.e.*, a church sunk into the earth. It is nearly a circle of very large stones, pretty entire, only a few fallen upon sloping ground in a swampy meadow. At the entrance there are four large stones, two on each side, at the distance of 6 feet. Through these you enter into a circular area, 29 yards by 30. The entrance is nearly south-east. It seems probable that the altar stood in the middle, as there are some stones still to be seen there, though sunk deep in the earth. The situation and aspect of the Druidical temple near Keswick is in every respect similar to this, except the rectangular recess, formed by ten large stones, which is peculiar to Keswick.

And I am informed that there are other remains of stone circles in these northern districts, where there yet exist so many popular superstitions and customs. Indeed, we find in Camden's account of Westmoreland allusion made to the ruins of one ancient round structure, which has always been considered to have been a temple dedicated to Diana, but which is now known by the name of Kirks-head. Many such instances will be found in the ancient monuments of Scotland. Sometimes there are two circles of stones, at others three circles, having the same common centre.

From the general arrangement of the stones, one of the largest having a cavity, at the bottom of which there is a passage for any liquid sacrifice to run down the side of it, nothing can be more evident than that the triple circle of stones was intended as an heathen temple, where Pagan priests performed their idolatrous ceremonies ; and what is most remarkable is, that most of these singular structures are still known by the name of chapels or temple stones ; and one of them, we are told, in the parish of Enesallen, is

full of groves, and was formerly an ordinary place of burial, and continues to be so, for children who die without baptism and for strangers. There is mention made of one* in the shire of Inverness, which consists of two circles of stones, and was formerly known by the name of Chapel Piglag, from a lady of that name who used to repair thither for the exercise of her devotion, before a church was built in that part of the country. What adds to the interest of this account, which I have extracted from Camden, is the extraordinary sanctity in which a neighbouring grove of trees was held. So sacred, indeed, was it reputed, that no one would cut a branch out of it, and the women who dwelt near it, when they recovered out of child-bed, were wont to repair thither, to return their thanks to God, as in other places of the kingdom they attend churches for the same purpose. In the midst of this grove there is a well or fountain, called the well of the chapel, which is also held sacred; and Dr. Jamieson, in his "Historical Account of the Culdees," relates a singular instance of an old man in the North of Scotland, who, though very regular in his devotions, never addressed the Supreme Being by any other title than that of Arch Druid, accounting every other derogatory to the divine Majesty.

It is clear that, for many ages after the introduction of Christianity into Britain, the firm hold which Druidism had upon the mind of her inhabitants was a source of much annoyance to the first missionaries to this country. Some Pagan monuments were overthrown, but others were maintained inviolable for ages. But, in order to render the transition from a false to a true worship less difficult, it was no uncommon practice with the early missionaries, not merely in Britain but in other parts of the world, to convert the temples dedicated to idolatrous uses into Christian churches. This circumstance will account for the situation of many of our churches, which actually occupy the ancient sites of Druid temples. It is probable that in many instances stone circles existed on the site of some of these churches, and were the scene of religious worship of the first converts to Christianity: of all figures the Druids most affected the circular. The Druidical Kir-rock, or circle of stones, gradually was contracted into kirk, which is now pronounced church. [See Note 1.] A kirk, church, or place of worship in Druidical times, was literally no more than a circle of stones. These stones, circularly placed, had always an high stone for the presiding priest or judge. This stone generally stood single, thereby serving occasionally for the altar or high stone of sacrifice. Though in most instances, as Christianity flourished, other more eligible sites for Christian churches were afterwards found, yet the ancient kirk or temple stones were visited for ages, though no worship was performed there. Where no regular church was built in the district, as was too much the case for many ages, these ancient

* Vide Camden's "Britannia."

stone circles were probably resorted to, and a congregation formed for the celebration of Christian worship. If such was the case, it affords sufficient reason why the term kirk-stones should still be attached to these venerable relics ; and, though few of them still exist, yet who can look with indifference on those once hallowed rocks, where the early Christians were accustomed to meet, and to celebrate the worship of the newly preached Saviour, perhaps in those very temples which had in still earlier times been dedicated to the mysterious and bloody ceremonies of the Druidic religion ; thus turning the altars of perished Paganism into the hallowed temples of the living God ! There are many such stone altars of Druidism in this and the neighbouring counties ; and I am much deceived if some of them were not subsequently used as places of worship for the primitive Christians of this district. There is a collection of rocks in Ogden, in the parish of Halifax, still known by the name of "Ogden Kirk," which surely indicates that something more than mere Druidism was the origin of its present name. There is a wood in the vicinity called Snake Hill, or Snag Hill.*

Not far from this place are still visible the remains of a camp, but it is not so evident by what people it was formed. It is of a circular shape, surrounded by a ditch or agger still to be traced, and a vallum of earth ; the whole divided into two parts. It may have been Roman, for it was the policy of that people to extirpate all vestiges of Druidical sway ; and there is abundance of evidence to show that this now dreary district was occupied by the aboriginal Britons, or their Druids. This part of the parish of Halifax, when it has undergone a more searching examination, will probably afford us further light on this subject. Celts and arrow-heads, I believe, have been found formerly within a few miles of the place.

Nor can I omit to mention, as one more example of stone circles in the parish of Halifax, a ring of stones, which is not altogether destroyed, in the township of Bankisland. The stones of this circle are not now erect, but lie in a confused heap, like the ruins of a building, and it is probable that many of the largest may have been taken away. It gives the name of Ringstone Edge to the adjacent moor. No one can doubt, I apprehend, but that this stone circle was originally constructed by the aboriginal Britons, under the superin-

* A tradition is said to prevail in the neighbourhood to the following effect :

"In days of old there lived in the valley of the Holy Brook a cottager, whose child, an exceedingly lovely one, had for its companion a snow-white serpent. One morning, however, the cottager saw the child sharing its pottage with the serpent, giving to it (as the tradition represents) each alternate spoonful. A movement of the latter, however, to come nearer the dish was mistaken by the father for a hostile attack, and he instantly struck it with his bill, severing the snake in two. From that time the 'faerie child' pined away, and speedily died." The record of the event is still, they say, preserved in the name of an adjoining wood, "Snake-hill," or "Snaghill."

tendance of the Druids, either as a temple or a court of justice, or both, as Druidical circles were used for worship and for seats of judgment. We find the same thing said of Bethel and Gilgal* in the days of Samuel, who made them the annual seats of judgment. There is also a Roman camp in the neighbourhood of Ringstone; so apparently desirous were the Romans of extirpating the Druidical priesthood. There is also very near to this camp a place called The Craggs, which, both by its British name and the remains dug up from time to time, seems to have been a retreat in very ancient times for man or for wild beasts, as it once exhibited the resemblance of a large cavern. This may have been a Druidical asylum, as it formerly was covered with oaks, of which immense roots are continually brought to light in every direction. As this interesting district is contiguous to my own summer residence, I hope at some future day to have it in my power to bring to light some further evidence of Druidical occupancy, especially in that part of the district called Weystone Edge. In this part of the country there are still standing many rocks of various shapes and sizes, such as may once have formed a circular temple, and call for a more patient examination than from their remote situation they have hitherto received. It has been mentioned in the earliest records under the name of Booth Dean. The mosses hereabout, when cut into for fuel, exhibit in great abundance the fragments of trees, which makes it probable that it was once woody. Tacitus in his Annals mentions a grove in Germany which bore the name of Baduhenna, and it may be that the etymology of both names is the same, meaning a temple of Diana. The monosyllable "both" or "booth" corresponds in some degree with the Hebrew "beth"—a prefix often used in Scripture to signify temple. The Brimham rocks of this county were probably dedicated to the god Rimmon, under the title of Beth Rimmon, corrupted into Brimham.

The circular temples of Abury and Stonehenge are known to all. . . . I might enumerate other circular temples in Ireland, in Anglesey, and Cornwall, all tending to show that the form of a circle was most usually adopted in the temples of the first inhabitants of these islands. . . . The rocking-stone at a short distance from the Roman town of Cambodunum, situate at the borders of Scamonden, near Huddersfield, which has retained the name of Holy Stone to this day, no doubt gave name to the neighbouring township of Golcar, which is a contraction from Godle-scar, for so it is spelt in some copies from the earliest writers. It was the name given to it by our Saxon ancestors, though it is, like many other names in Domesday, incorrectly spelt. To render Christianity palatable to the Anglo-Saxons, Augustine was instructed by the Pope to permit the exercise of some of their ancient peculiarities, by incorporating into the purer faith the less offensive tenets of their own superstition, and he permitted the con-

* ζ is a roundish heap of stones.

version of their temples into Christian churches, by merely destroying the idols and consecrating the altars. We have no conclusive evidence to show the precise period when a fabric for the celebration of Christian worship was first erected in this part of the kingdom; but, from the abandonment of the Roman station of Cambodunum by the Saxons, who occupied the less bleak and more defensible position at Almonbury, and subsequently perhaps the present site of Huddersfield, we have every reason to believe that a timber edifice was constructed in both of those places in the early Saxon times. Camden was incorrect in supposing that a basilica was built at Almonbury by Paulinus, which could not be the case, as at some future opportunity I hope most satisfactorily to show.

J. K. WALKER.

On Ancient Stone Chairs and Stones of Inauguration.

[1865, *Part I.*, pp. 429-436.]

There is one class of our megalithic monuments which seems to have almost entirely escaped the notice of our antiquaries—I allude to the “stone chair.” Having met with a couple of these interesting relics in my researches, my attention has been directed towards their origin and uses; but, like most of our Celtic monuments, little light can be thrown on their history. What I have been able to glean on the subject is contained in the following pages. It is a curious fact that most of those pre-historic remains which we are accustomed to designate Celtic, are found very widely diffused. The pillar-stone, the cromlech, the stone circle, and the tumulus are to be traced in almost every country of the old and new world; as if some numerous and powerful aboriginal race had at some early period of the earth’s history swept over our globe, carrying with them their domestic customs and religious rites, the nature of which are only dimly shadowed forth by the rude memorials they have left behind them.

The class of monument now under consideration has been found in countries widely apart. Examples of the stone chair in its most ancient types have been met with in Ireland, Wales, Greece, and South America. From the remotest historic times the chair has been associated with the ideas of power, sovereignty, and dignity. The exhumed sculptures of ancient Nineveh represent her monarchs on chairs, and divinities borne in procession seated on the same. The great statue of Jupiter, by Phidias, was seated in a chair of ivory. The Jupiter Optimus Maximus of the Romans was seated in a curule chair in his temple on the Capitoline hill. With us, the seat of royal dignity is associated with or stands for the sovereignty of states and kingdoms. Thus we speak of the thrones of England, France, or Russia. In this sense it also stands for high academical attainments and offices: thus we speak of the chairs of history, of philosophy, of

science, of poetry, etc. No doubt in semi-barbarous times the rude chair of stone was also associated with similar ideas. Upon it the ancient kings and toparchs were inaugurated with rude but impressive ceremonies, and from it the chief, judge, or lawgiver dispensed justice.

I shall now proceed to describe such of these monuments as have come under my notice in Ireland, as also the uses to which they have been applied, as far as I have been able to ascertain. The accompanying sketch represents the coronation chair of the O'Neills, of Clan-Aodh-Buidhe (Clandeboy), a branch of that ancient and princely house now represented by Lord O'Neill, of Shane's Castle, County Antrim.

This chair stood for ages on the hill of Castlereagh, about two miles from Belfast, the inauguration place of the chiefs of that race. After the final ruin of the family in the reign of James I. this monument was thrown down from its original position, and lay neglected for several years, until about the year 1750, when the then sovereign of Belfast, Mr. Stewart Banks, had it removed, and built into the wall of the butter-market of that town, where it was used as a seat, until the demolition of the market in 1829. It was at this juncture rescued from the hands of the workmen by a Mr. Thomas Fitz-Morriss, who removed it to his garden in Lancaster Place, where it stood until about the year 1832, when it was purchased by Roger C. Walker, Esq., barrister, who removed it to his residence, Rathcarrick, County Sligo, where it still remains.

The chair is rudely and massively constructed of common whinstone. Respecting its antiquity we can only offer conjecture; from its extreme rudeness, its age and use was probably long anterior to the accession of the O'Neills to the chieftainry of Clandeboy, whose names have been associated with it for several centuries. Aodh O'Neill, the head of the ancient house of Hy-Niall, died in the year 1230, leaving two sons, Niall-Roe and Aodh-Meith. The descendants of these branched off into two distinct families. The hereditary lordship of Tyrone remained in the family of Niall-Roe, while the descendants of Aodh-Meith obtained the territory of Dal-aradie, which subsequently was called Clan-Aodh-Buidhe, "the clan of Yellow Hugh," anglicised Clandeboy. The last attempt to inaugurate an O'Neill at the chair of Castlereagh was made in the year 1568, and is thus noticed in a letter of Sir Henry Sidney's, dated March, 1568: "A large band of Scotts, intending, as was said, to create a new Lord of Clandeboy, not farre from Knockfergus, went under that pretence to enter a wood near Castell Reagh."

The elder branch of the O'Neills had their place of inauguration at or near Tullahogue, a village in the parish of Disertcreagh, barony of Dungannon, and County of Tyrone. The particular spot is still to be seen, about a mile east of the village. It is a large circular rath, en-

compassed by deep trenches and earthworks ; within this rath was placed the ancient chair. Its site was shown on an old map of Ulster, engraved from a survey by Lythe, made in 1571, and marked "Ye stone where O'Neale is chose." This monument is no longer in existence, having been unfortunately destroyed, as we shall see by-and-by. That Tullahogue was the usual place where the O'Neills were invested with their dignity is evident from some notices in the "Annals of the Four Masters," as follows, A.D. 1432 :—"Owen the son of Niall Oge O'Neill was inaugurated his (O'Neill's) successor on Leac-na-Riogh at Tullahogue." *Leac-na-Riogh* means literally the "Stone of the Kings." Again, at A.D. 1455, we have the following notice :—"The successor of St. Patrick (*i.e.*, the Archbishop of Armagh), Maguire Mac Mahon, and all the O'Neills went with Henry the son of Owen, who was son of Niall Oge, to Tullahogue, to inaugurate him, and they called him O'Neill, after *the lawful manner*." The last notice we have of the investiture of an O'Neill at Tullahogue is contained in a postscript to a letter of Sir Henry Bagenal, dated the 9th of September, 1595, and now in the State Paper Office. He writes, "Olde O'Neyle is dead, and the Traitour" (the Earl of Tyrone) "gone to the stone to receive that name." The ultimate fate of this monument is thus given in Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," vol. i., p. 447 :

"On the 20th of August" (1602) "the Lord-Deputy took the field, and encamped between Newry and Armagh ; and understanding that Tyrone was in Fermanagh, he marched over the bridge neare Fort Mountjoy, and placed a ward neare Dungannon, and staid five days at Tullahogue, and broke *the chair of stone* whereon the Oneals used to be inaugurated."

The destruction of this stone chair was in accordance with the then policy of the English Government. They had proscribed the ancient laws, language, and even the dress of the Irish ; it was therefore no wonder that this monument, which had been for ages consecrated in the memories of the race of Tir-Owen as the sacred spot where the chiefs of their clan could only be inaugurated, should be destroyed, in order to obliterate from the minds and memories of this restless and warlike race all hope of ever seeing again an O'Neill on the rude throne of his ancestors. Several stones said to have been fragments of this ancient relic were in the garden belonging to the Rev. James Lourey, Rector of Disertcreagh, about the year 1768.

The place of inauguration of the O'Donnells, hereditary chiefs of Tirconnell, was on the hill of Doune, near Killmacrennan, County Donegal. It is so mentioned in several places by the Four Masters. Thus at A.D. 1461 :—"After this defeat at Ceann-Maghair these victorious chieftains went to *Kill-mic-Anain*, and Hugh Roe (O'Donnell), the son of Niall-Garv, was styled lord *after the lawful manner*."

Again, at A.D. 1505 we have the following notice :

"An army was led by the son of O'Donnell (Hugh Oge, son of Hugh Roe), into Tyrone, and O'Neill's town, Dungannon, the town of Hugh the son of Donnell O'Neill, were burned by them ; and he traversed from the Abhaiun-mor inwards without meeting any opposition. Upon his return he laid siege to Castlederg, took that castle from the sons of Niall, the son of Art, and left his warders in it ; and he proceeded from thence to *Kill-mic-Nenain*, where he was nominated Lord of Tirconnell by the consent of God and man."

In a foot-note the translator (Dr. O'Donovan) states that the inauguration stone of the O'Donnells was removed from the hill of Doune to the ancient church of Killmacrennan, where it lay in the ruined chancel until about forty years since, when it was either stolen or destroyed.

It will interest the antiquary to ascertain what were the rites and ceremonies practised by the Irish in the election and investiture of their kings and chiefs, particularly as it would appear that many of these forms were observed on such occasions down to a late period, as is testified by Spencer.

The place selected for the ceremonies of inauguration was usually a natural or artificial eminence in the centre of a large *magh* (field) or plain. The elected chief occupied either a stone chair or stood upon a flat stone sacred to the purpose, and called *Leac-na-Righ*, "the flag or stone of the kings," and which was preserved for centuries, and regarded as the palladium of the state. Some account of the ceremonies observed upon these occasions is given in the "Cambrensis Eversus" of Gratianus Lucius, published by the Irish Celtic Society, and which particularly refers to the inauguration of the princes of Tirconnell :

"Whenever the prince elect was about to be proclaimed, the O'Domhnaill, the lords of Tir-Connaill and all other orders of the state assembled on the appointed hill. One of the lords arose, and holding in his hand a white wand perfectly straight, and without the slightest bend, he presented it to the chieftain elect, with the following words:—'Receive the emblematic type of thy dignity : now let the unsullied whiteness and straightness of this wand be thy model in all thy acts, so that no calumnious tongue can expose the slightest stain in the purity of thy life, nor any favoured friend ever seduce thee from dealing out even-handed justice to all. May good fortune accompany thee on assuming thy appointed dignity : receive and guard the insignia of the chief government of this state.'"—(Vol. iii., p. 341.)

Spencer's "View of Ireland" was originally published in 1596 ; it is in the form of a dialogue between Eudoxius and Irenæus, and contains a curious passage in reference to the present subject. It will be found at p. 10 of the Dublin edition of 1809, as follows :

Iren. It is a custome amongst all the Irish that presently after the death of any of their chiefe Lordes or Captaines, they doe presently assemble themselves to a place generally appointed and knowne unto them to choose another in his steed, where they doe nominate and elect for the most part, not the eldest sonne, nor any of the children of the Lord deceased, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldest and worthiest, as commonly the next brother unto him if he have any, or the next cousin, or so forth, as any is elder in that kinred or sept, and then next to him doe they chose the next of the blood to be Tanist, who shall next succeed him in the said Captainry, if he live thereunto.

Eudox. Doe they not use any ceremony in this election? for all barbarous nations are commonly great observers of ceremonies and superstitious rites.

Iren. They use to place him that shal be their Captaine upon a stone alwayes reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill: in some of which I have seen formed and engraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first Captaine's foot, whereon he standing receives an oath to preserve all the auncient former customes of the country inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his Tanist, and then had a wand delivered unto him by some whose proper office that is: after which, descending from the stone, he turneth himself round, thrice forward and thrice backward."

The author of "*Cambrensis Eversus*" gives an interesting account of the inauguration of the Dukes of Carinthia, the ceremonial of which has a remarkable conformity in most particulars to the Irish customs. His inauguration takes place on a large plain, and a sacred stone of inauguration is provided, upon which he takes his stand. The similitude between the customs of the Carinthians and Irish on these occasions is very clearly and ably illustrated by Mr. Herbert Hore in a paper contributed to vol. v. of the "*Ulster Journal of Archæology*." The learned Keysler mentions the inauguration stone of the Dukes of Carinthia in the following terms:—"De lapide prægrandi super quem Carinthiæ Duces olim fuere inaugurati notior res est quam ut pluribus eam illustrare necesse habeamus."—"Antiquitates Septentrionales," p. 94.)

The traveller Pococke visited the field of installation of the ancient chiefs of Carinthia, which he describes as follows:

"From Maria-Sol we went down into the plain, where there is a curious piece of antiquity, which is now called Kaiserstool; a large stone 6 feet long and 5 broad is set up on end, on the west side a stone is put up against it; between this and the great stone there are two small ones, on one of which there is some part of a Roman inscription. The seat on the other side is a stone laid on an old Gothic capital, with a stone on each side of it for the arms to rest on. Towards the top of the great stone on that side is cut RVDOLPHVS

dvx, who was the first peaceable possessor of Carinthia. Æneas Sylvius gives a very long account of an extraordinary ceremony performed here on investing the Duke in his dominions.—(“A Description of the East,” etc., 3 vols. fol., London, 1745, vol. iii., p. 255.)

Neither Gratianus Lucius nor Spencer, already quoted, refers to the curious traditional custom of the shoe or slipper in these ceremonies. Dr. O'Donovan states that a tradition existed in the country that O'Hagan, the hereditary Rechtaire, or lawgiver of Tir-owen, and who had his residence in the great Rath of Tullahogue, inaugurated O'Neill by putting on his golden slipper or sandal. The slipper always appears in the armorial bearings of the O'Hagans. (“Hy Fiachrach,” p. 432.) Each provincial chief had his Rechtaire, or Brehon; his office was that of a judge, umpire, arbitrator; he was supposed to be well versed in that code called Brehon law, a very remarkable compilation, which is still extant in Irish MSS., and which a Government Commission is at present engaged in collecting and translating. [See Note 2.]

The office of Rechtaire was generally hereditary in a particular family. One of his most special duties was to inaugurate his lord into the chieftaincy of the tribe. Dr. O'Donovan (quoting from O'Mulcoursy's MS. of Keatinge's “History of Ireland”) gives the following list of provincial chiefs, their places of inauguration, and of the families in whom lay the right of administering the ceremony:

O'Neill More, at Tullahogue, inaugurated by O'Hagan.

O'Donnell, at Kilmacrenan, by O'Firghil.

O'Neill, of Clan-Aohd-Buidhe, at Castlereaigh.

O'Brien, at Magh Adhor, in Clare, by Mac Namara.

Mac Murrough, at Knockan-Bogha, by O'Nolan.

O'Conor, at Carnfree, Roscommon, by Mac Dermot.

O'Dowda, at Carn Auchalgaidh, Sligo.

Mac Guire, at Lisnaskea, Fermanagh.

Mac Carthy More, at Lisbanagher, Kerry, by O'Sullivan More.

O'Byrne, at Dun-Cailligh-Beire, by Mac Kehoe.

O'Rorke, at Cruachan O'Cuiproin, Leitrim.

As might be expected, on the introduction of Christianity, the clergy interfered very frequently with the privileges of the Rechtaire on these occasions. Among other instances we are informed by Cumian, Abbot of Iona in A.D. 657, that St. Columba inaugurated Aidan, King of the Picts.

From a review of the most ancient authorities it is evident that the Irish Celts from a very remote period had certain and well-defined ceremonies, which were used at the installation of their kings and territorial chiefs; that they were somewhat modified on the introduction of Christianity; but that in all essential particulars they continued the same. The conditions upon which they were chosen, and the ceremonial, are thus summed up by Dr. O'Donovan:

“1. That he should be of the blood of the original conqueror or

acquirer of the territory, and free from all personal blemishes, deformities, and defects, and be of fit age to lead the clan to the field.

"2. That the greater part of the sub-chiefs and freeholders should declare in his favour.

"3. That the inauguration should be celebrated at a remarkable place in the territory appointed of old for the purpose, where there was a stone with the impression of two feet, believed to be the size of the feet of their first captain, chieftain, or acquirer of the territory.

"4. That the hereditary historian or chronicler of the territory should be present to read to the chief about to be installed the heads of the law relating to the conduct of the chieftain, and that the latter should swear to observe those laws and to maintain the customs of the territory inviolable.

"5. That after taking this oath, the chief laid aside his sword and other weapons, upon which the historian of the district, or some other person whose proper office it was, handed him a straight white wand as a sceptre and an emblem of purity and rectitude, to indicate that his people were to be so obedient to him that he required no other weapon to command them.

"6. That after receiving this straight white wand, one of his sub-chiefs put on his shoe or sandal, in token of obedience, or threw a slipper over his head in token of good luck.

"7. That after the foregoing ceremonies were performed, one of his sub-chiefs pronounced his surname without the Christian name in a loud voice, after whom it was pronounced in succession by the clergy according to their dignity, and by his sub-chiefs and freeholders according to their respective ranks. After this the chief turned thrice round forwards and thrice backwards, in honour of the most holy Trinity, as the Irish still do all good things, and to view his people and his territory in every direction; which being done, he was the legitimate chief of his name."—(*Hy Fiachrach*, p. 451.)

One remarkable custom in this ceremonial was the putting on of the shoe or sandal, and which is occasionally referred to by the compilers of the "Annals of the Four Masters." Thus at A.D. 1468:—

"Donough O'Connor (*i.e.*, O'Connor Roe) died at an advanced age, and after a well-spent life; and Felim Finn O'Connor was inaugurated in his place by O'Donnel Mac William, and MacDermot (O'Connor) in as meet a manner as any lord had for some time before been nominated, and his *shoe* was put on him by MacDermot."

The inauguration place of the O'Conors was on the hill of Carnfree, now called the Carn, situated near Tulska, in the county of Roscommon. The same custom is also alluded to in the "Annals of Duaid Mac Firbis," at A.D. 1461:—

"A great army gathered by Mac William Burke, and by his kins-

men, and they marched towards Machery-Connaght to release (by agreement) Felim ffinn from Brian Ballagh's sons, and gave him as much as he desired, and sureties of the best of Connaght to make all things good and true accordingly: and so he let Felim out of his gyves on Wednesday, and he brought all these potentates to Carn-frygh-fitz-fidley (Carnfree), and Mac Dermoda did put on his *shoe* after tying it," etc.

It is evident from these passages that in taking his place on the sacred stone of inauguration, the chief put off his shoes or sandals, and that either his own, or one specially used for the occasion, was placed on his foot, as a token of submission or fealty by the installing noble.

It is also stated by the noble editor of *Hy Fiachrach* that he threw a shoe or slipper over the new chieftain's head as a spell of good luck or prosperity to his reign. These shoe customs are evidently of Oriental origin. Amongst the Eastern nations the shoe indicated authority, and was used in legalising bargains and compacts. "Now this was the manner in former times in Israel, concerning redeeming, and concerning changing, for to confirm all things; a man plucked off his shoe, and gave it to his neighbour, and this was a testimony in Israel. Therefore the kinsman said to Boaz, Buy it for thee. So he drew off his shoe." (Ruth iv. 7, 8.) Loosing the shoe from off the feet was an act of judicial degradation under certain circumstances among the Jews. In the Mosaic law, which provided that a surviving brother should marry the widow of his deceased brother, the refusal of the former to observe the law subjected him to an act of public degradation, as we have it stated in the Book of Deuteronomy (xxv. 9, 10): "Then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face, and shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house. And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed." Loosing the shoe from off the foot was also a mark of respect paid to sacred persons and places. Thus Moses was commanded to take off his shoes at the burning bush: "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." (Exodus iii. 5.) In the interview which Joshua had with the angel of the covenant before Jericho he was commanded to perform the same act of reverence for the same reason. (Joshua v. 15.) The author of the "Pillars of Hercules," describing a Jewish wedding at Tangier, writes:—

"I was standing beside the bridegroom when the bride entered: as she crossed the threshold, he stooped down and slipped off his shoe, and struck her with the heel on the nape of the neck. I at once saw the interpretation of the passage in Scripture, respecting the transfer of the shoe to another, in case the brother-in-law did not

exercise his privilege. . . . The regalia of Morocco is enriched with a pair of embroidered slippers, which are, or used to be, carried before the Sultan, as amongst us the sceptre and sword.”—(Vol. i., p. 305).

In Ireland from time immemorial it has been customary to use the shoe as a token of good luck. Thus when a traveller went a journey, or an individual departed on any enterprise, the shoe was thrown after him, or he was struck with a shoe on the nape of the neck. The same ceremony was used to a bride or bridegroom when leaving their parents' houses for the church. When the former was put to bed, all the unmarried females in the house assembled in the nuptial chamber; she was then blindfolded, and a slipper placed in her hand, which she threw at random; whoever was struck by the lucky missile considered it a happy omen that she should be married within the twelve months. These customs are in full force to the present day.

[1865, *Part I.*, pp. 548-558.]

That the golden or gilded slipper or sandal used in the inauguration ceremonies of Irish toparchs was one specially kept for the purpose is quite probable; and I have no doubt but that the shoe of thin sheet copper or bronze which was exhibited in 1852, among other antiquities, at the Belfast Museum, and which puzzled all who examined it, may have been one of these ceremonial relics. (“*Ulster Journal of Archæology*,” No. iv., p. 23.) The place of inauguration of the kings of Ireland was at the once celebrated hill of Tara, situated in the county of Meath, and which, from a period antecedent to written history, had been the principal seat of the monarchs of the island. I shall not attempt to give any historical notices of this locality; the history of Tara is the history of Ireland, and those who would desire to know more of this interesting spot will do well to consult vol. xviii., part 2, of the *Trans. of the Royal Irish Academy*, in which will be found a paper on the “*History and Antiquities of Tara Hill*,” contributed by Dr. Petrie, and upon which has been bestowed all that learned and laborious research which has characterized the writings of that gentleman.

Here is a rath, situated on an eminence and encircled by two fosses and parapets, within which was a mound and chair. This is popularly known as the “*King’s Chair Rath*,” and was in all probability the actual spot where the ceremony took place. In the ancient MS. accounts of Tara this place is called *Rath-na-Seanadh*, *i.e.*, the Rath of the Synods or assemblies.

It is also probable that this was the site of the celebrated *Lia Fail*, or coronation stone of the kings of Ireland, and which is now believed to be under the coronation throne of our own sovereigns in Westminister Abbey. The Irish accounts inform us that this miraculous stone was brought into Ireland by the Tuath de-Danan colony, that

it was placed at Tara, and that on it the inauguration ceremonies were performed. The fable of this stone having been lent for the coronation of Fergus Mac Erc in the fifth century, of its having been retained by the Dalriadic race of kings, and preserved at Scone, from whence it was taken by Edward I. and placed in its present position, is a forgery of the thirteenth century, persisted in, and perpetuated by Fordun, Winton, and Boethius; and adopted by succeeding writers on their authority. That such a stone once existed at Tara is certain; its locality, use, and the magical virtues ascribed to it, are thus described in an ancient topographical work called the *Dinnseanchus*, a compilation of the twelfth century; among other tracts in this work is one describing Tara, its raths, mounds, pillar-stones, etc.; the author thus refers to the Lia Fail:—

“*Fal* lies by the side of *Dumhana n-giall* to the north, *i.e.*, the stone that roared under the feet of each king that took possession of (the throne of) Ireland. *Fal*, the name of the stone, means *fo, ail*, ‘the *under* stone,’ *i.e.*, the stone *under* the king.”—(“*Hist. and Antiq. of Tara Hill*,” p. 138.)

We have here the true etymology of the word given by an early writer; what becomes of the etymological fable of “the stone of destiny,” and what becomes of the statements of the above writers respecting its removal to Scotland in the fifth, when a native writer describes its existence at Tara in the twelfth century? It is utterly impossible to believe that a stone invested with such a traditional sanctity, and looked upon as the palladium of the legitimate monarchy of Ireland, should have been so frivolously lent, and so quietly suffered to be retained. In the whole range of our ancient annalists there is no allusion to such a circumstance, and we must therefore believe it to be, what it really is, a forgery of the mediæval Scottish writers. Dr. Petrie dissents from the notion of the stone in Westminster Abbey being the veritable Lia Fail, and is of opinion that it still exists at Tara; from the latter statement I must, however, reluctantly dissent, and for these reasons. The stone fixed upon by that gentleman is a cylindrical obelisk now standing in the *Rath-na-Riogh*: it stands at present about 6 feet above ground, but according to the Doctor the real height is said to be 12 feet, the remainder being sunk in the earth; the Doctor states that this “obeliscal pillar-stone lay in a prostrate position, and in the locality indicated by the native writers of the tenth and twelfth centuries.” He does not, I am sure, mean to state that *this stone* was in that position in the time of these writers, but that previous to its removal to its present site in the year 1798, it lay in the locality where these annalists record that the veritable inauguration stone was placed in their day. The size and form of the existing monument is quite opposed to the idea of an installation stone, which must certainly have been a flat flagstone, upon which the monarch or chief stood, and in that position went

through certain ceremonies which certainly could not be performed upon a perfectly cylindrical body. Again, no people are more tenacious in preserving the traditions and relics of the past than are the Irish. Was the Lia Fail in existence at Tara, that fact would never have died out among the people; the sacred relic would have been pointed out from generation to generation, and its traditions carefully preserved. I am of opinion that this monument does not exist either at Tara or Westminster; I think it more than probable that it was destroyed by the Norman invaders in the latter end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. Meath became very early an appanage of the English Crown, and was granted to that fearless and hardy adventurer Hugo de Lacy. From an early period of the English dominion in Ireland, the constant and undeviating policy of the conquerors was to denationalise the conquered; and we have abundant historic evidence in the various laws passed from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries of this fact. We have seen that the language, dress, and social customs of the people became the subjects of penal enactments; everything that could remind them of their former independence, and that preserved the traditions of past glories, as far as the victors had the power, was banished from the sight and memories of the natives. We have seen the inauguration seat of the O'Neils destroyed by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy; there is therefore nothing very speculative in supposing that the Lia Fail, a monument of far more importance and interest in the minds of the people, should have shared the same fate at the hands of Hugo de Lacy, or some of his immediate descendants.

Dr. Borlase, in describing the stone circles of Cornwall, and the assemblies held therein, and the ceremonies practised, alludes to the stones of inauguration which were frequently an accompaniment of those monuments; he writes:—

“This custom of choosing princes by nobles standing in a circle upon rocks, is said to have remained among the northern nations till the reign of Charles IV. and the Golden Bull, A.D. 1356. Some of these circles have a large stone in the middle, as the monument near Upsal in Sweden, called Morasten, of which Olaus Magnus gives us both the description and use. On this Morasten Ericus was made King of Sweden, no longer since than the year 1396. In Denmark also there are monuments of this kind, and Macdonald was crowned King of the Isles, in the isle of Ysla, standing upon a stone with a deep impression on the top of it, made on purpose to receive his feet. It was also the custom to sit on stones placed in the same circular manner, during the time of council, law, or election, and the seat where the king sat is still in Denmark called Kon[ig]-stolen, or king's seat, as that whereon the Queen was crowned is called Droning-stolen. In the Holm, as they call it in Shetland (*i.e.*, the Law-Ting),

there are four great stones upon which sat the judge, clerk, and other officers of the court.”—(Borlase’s “*Antiq. of Cornwall*,” p. 193.)

The election and the installation of the kings of Denmark were also conducted in a similar manner to the ceremonies we have already described as in use among the Irish Celts, as we find from Mallet’s “*Northern Antiquities* :”—

“They still,” says our author, “show the places where these elections were made, and as Denmark was for a long time divided into three kingdoms, we find accordingly three principal monuments of this custom ; the one near Lunden in Scania, the other at Leyra or Lethra in Zealand, and the third near Viborg in Jutland. These monuments, whose rude bulk has preserved them from the ravages of time, are only vast unhewn stones, commonly twelve in number, set upright, and placed in the form of a circle ; in the middle is erected a stone much larger than the rest, on which they made a seat for the king. The other stones served as a barrier to keep off the populace, and marked the place of those whom the people had appointed to make the selection We know that this custom of electing their kings in the open field prevailed among all the northern nations, and was for a long time necessary because they had no cities. The emperors of Germany were for many ages elected after the same manner.”—(Bohn’s edit., p. 128.)

The monument depicted above is situated in a grove of stunted oaks, a short distance from Killiney Hill, in the County of Dublin, and is thus described by Mr. D. Alton :—

“Near this hill, at the residence of Mr. O’Hara, in a circular enclosure of stunted oaks, is one of these few remarkable Brehon chairs which yet stand in the island. It presents the appearance of a large arm-chair of stone, with a slab step between two large rocks, all of granite. At the distance of a few yards behind it, is a screen-like granite slab, standing nearly perpendicular, and pierced about half through at the side fronting the back of the chair with a large hole,” etc.—(“*History of the County of Dublin*,” p. 894.)

The same author describes another of these monuments, situated in the demesne of Glen Southwell, parish of Rathfarnham, and County of Dublin ; he writes :—

“The visitor will see here a very remarkable Brehon chair surrounded by most venerable thorns. This relic is composed of three large upright granite slabs, the two sides being about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, the back 7 feet. There is no stone where the seat should be, but a very large one lies beside it, resting in an inclined position on smaller ones.”—(*Ibid.*, p. 790.)

Captain Josias Bodley, in his “*Account of a Journey into Lecale*,” etc., published in the “*Ulster Journal of Archæology*,” vol. ii., mentions his visit to “the Well and Chair of St. Patrick” at Struel in the County of Down. The editor in a foot-note states :—

"These are still in existence at Struel, about a mile south-east of Downpatrick. St. Patrick's chair is a recess formed by three large stones, or rocks, on the top of the precipitous hill, up which those doing penance had to climb, and in which they in turn sat down."
—(P. 89.)

Martin, in his "Description of the Western Isles," gives some account of the inauguration of the ancient kings of the Hebrides on an island in Loch Finlagan, in Islay. He writes:—

"There was a big stone 7 feet square, in which there was made a deep impression to receive the feet of McDonald; for he was crowned King of the Isles standing on this stone, and swore that he would continue his vassals in the possession of their lands, and do exact justice to all his subjects; and then his father's sword was put in his hands. The Bishop of Argyle and seven priests anointed him King in presence of all the heads of the tribes who were his vassals; at which time the orator rehearsed a catalogue of his ancestors . . . When the chief entered on the government of the clan, he was placed on a pyramid of stones, a *white rod* was delivered to him, and the chief Druid or orator pronounced a stimulating panegyric on the ancient pedigree, valour, and liberality of his family, all which he proposed to the young chieftain for imitation."

That there should be a strict conformity between the inauguration customs of Ireland and the Western Isles and Highlands of Scotland, is not to be wondered at, the natives of both being of the same stock, having one language, and being in all respects one people; their very domestic habits, customs, and traditions being the same.

WALES.

Among the ancient Cymry the stone chair was a usual and essential appendage to the Gorsedd, or place of assembly of the Bards. The situation and construction of the Gorsedd are carefully described by the ancient Bardic writers. The following quotations are taken from a paper by the Rev. J. Williams (Ab-Ithel), in the "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. for 1850, entitled "Druidic Stones":—

"It is an institutional usage to form a conventional *circle of stones* on the summit of some conspicuous ground, so as to enclose any requisite area of greensward, the stones being so placed as to allow sufficient space for a man to stand between each two of them, except that the two stones of the circle, which most directly confront the eastern sun, should be sufficiently apart to allow at least ample space for three men between them, thus affording an easy ingress into the circle. This large space is called the entrance or portal; in front of which, at the distance of either three fathoms, or of three times three fathoms, a stone called a *station-stone* should be so placed as to indicate the eastern cardinal point; to the north of which another

stone should be placed, so as to face the eye of the rising sun at the longest summer's day; and to the south of it an additional one pointing to the position of the rising sun at the shortest winter's day. These three are called station-stones; but in the centre of the circle a stone larger than the others should be so placed that diverging lines drawn from its middle to the three station-stones may point severally and directly to the three particular positions of the rising sun which they indicate."—("Jolo MSS.," p. 445.)

"The place of assembly shall be upon the grassy face of the earth, and *chairs* shall be placed there, namely, *stones*; and where stones cannot be obtained, then in their stead turfs, and the *chair* of assembly shall be in the middle of the Gorsedd."—("Jolo MSS.," p. 627.)

Again, in the same authority we find the following :

"A chair and Gorsedd of the British Bard shall be held *conspicuously in the face of the sun in the eye of light, and under the expansive freedom of the sky*, that all may see and hear."—("Jolo MSS.," p. 432.)

I am indebted to the Rev. E. L. Barnewell, Ruthin, for the following sketch of a stone chair now at Peel Park, near Ruthin, the seat of Lord Bagot.

The above interesting relic was originally removed from a stone circle near the above-mentioned place by an old farmer, who, thinking, as he said, "it would make a capital horse-block," had it conveyed to his farm-house, from which ignominious position it was rescued by its present proprietor. Davis, in his "Celtic Researches," mentions the stone chair of Idris, the giant and astronomer, after whom one of the highest peaks in Wales is called "Cadair Idris." He states that his chair is cut out of the rock on the summit of the mountain (p. 173). Many of the Welsh peaks are called chairs, as Cadair Arthur, Cadair Ferwyn, Cadair Gwladus; we have also Arthur's Seat, near Edinburgh, and the mountain called Red Chair, in the County of Cork, Ireland. It is probable that these "high places" were remarkable sites for assemblies of the people for religious, judicial, or military purposes, or were places of Bardic convocation, and were thus called after the chair, seat, or throne which formed a conspicuous feature in the Gorsedd.

CORNWALL.

Borlase describes a "Druid's seat of judgment" at Carnbre, in Cornwall. He writes :

"I have seen several of the seats or benches of judgment, particularly in the Scilly Isles, but none so distinct and so manifestly pointing the use they were intended for as this."—("Antiquities of Cornwall," p. 115.)

GREECE.

Among the ancient Greeks, or perhaps the Pelasgic colonists who preceded the Hellenes in the occupation of Arcadia and Thessaly, stone chairs hewn out of solid monoliths, or out of the live rock, were not infrequent. The following example from "Dodwell's Cyclopean and Pelasgic Remains in Greece and Italy" is interesting as having been found by that laborious and accomplished antiquary among the ruins of the Pelasgian city of Lilæa, in Phocis.

The church of the Holy Virgin in the modern village of Chæroneia contains an ancient *thronos*, or chair of white marble, brought from the neighbouring ruins of the ancient Acropolis. The villagers call it the throne of Plutarch. Chæroneia is said to have been founded by Chæron, the son of Apollo. Dodwell also mentions stone chairs as existing at a ruined city at the foot of Mount Parnassus, and at the sacred forests of Epidaurus. A remarkable one, existing at Mytilene, has been illustrated in a work published by the Count de Choiseul Gouffier. Two, with inscriptions, have been discovered by Sir William Gell in the ruins of a temple at Rhamnus (see "Unedited Antiq. of Attica"). Pausanias also frequently mentions them. Dodwell writes :

"The *thronos*, or *proedria*, was for great persons, even for divinities ; and it is probable that some of those which still remain in Greece contained statues, not of marble, but of ivory and gold, or of wood. Pausanias gives the name of *thronos* to the seat of the Olympian Jupiter, and of the Amyclean Apollo."

SOUTH AMERICA.

With the manners and customs of the ancient peoples of Central America, and of those inhabiting the eastern side of the Andes, we have very little acquaintance. What little we do know has come to us through the early Spanish writers, whose statements are deeply tinged by religious prejudices. The remains of their temples, palaces, and tombs, give us some notion of the state of the arts of design and construction among them, and of the nature of their funeral rites ; but of their mode of life, government, jurisprudence, religion, ceremonies, we have no correct information. Stone chairs are mentioned by several travellers as existing in Peru and Chili.

"Villavicencio says two leagues north of Monte Christo, in the district of Manta, on the flat summit of a *low mountain*, is a *circle* of thirty *stone seats*, with arms ; and that they in all probability were used on solemn occasions by the chiefs of Cara, ere they conquered Quito."—(Bollaert's "Antiq. and Ethn. of South America," p. 80.)

This is evidently the stone circle of Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall ; but instead of the assembled chiefs, nobles, or bards standing each

by his rude pillar-stone, as was the custom according to Borlase, each in this instance occupied a stone chair. Central America exhibits its quota of stone circles, pillar-stones, cairns, etc., to puzzle the antiquary.

Again :

“ Among the ruins of Hatun Colla (Peru) are observed the remains of monuments, and it is said that here was the residence of a prince, whose palaces and town were covered by the waters of the lake, although history is silent as to any such event. Here is also found a chair of stone (a species of lava) with its back made of a single piece, which is said to have been the throne of the lord of the place.”— (Von Tschudi's and Riviero's “ Peruvian Antiq.,” p. 293.)

Markham, in describing the wonderful remains of the Cyclopean fortress of Cuzco, states that :

“ On the summit of the Rodadero, a succession of steps with two stone seats is hewn out of the solid rock, and from these seats the Incas are said to have watched the progress of their gigantic undertaking.”— (“ Cuzco and Lima,” by Markham, p. 116.)

While on this subject it may not be out of place to notice some examples of mediæval stone chairs. Some of those I am about to mention are of considerable antiquity, and were probably the chairs or seats of the founders of the church, or of the bishop of the diocese in which such were situated. The sketch in the preceding page is from De Caumont's “ *Abécédaire d'Archéologie*,” vol. i, p. 248.

He states that it belongs to the church of St. Vigors, that it is of the eleventh century, and the material red marble. From its massive simplicity, and the absence of decoration, it may with certainty be referred to that date, if indeed it be not of an earlier age. The same writer states that similar chairs exist in the cathedrals of Lyons and Vienne. Such chairs were also frequent in English cathedrals of an early date. The second sketch in the preceding page is from Carter's large work, Plate 32. It is from the chapter-house of Durham Cathedral, and was sketched by Carter previous to the demolition of that portion of the sacred edifice. He calls it the bishop's chair of installation.

At Plate 45 of the same work we have the following sketch of a stone chair from Beverley Minster. Carter states that it is the Fridstool granted by King Athelstan to John de Beverly, Archbishop of York.

Carter gives no authority for this statement, nor am I aware at present of any existing. This is certain, however, that the chair is one of considerable antiquity, from its simple and archaic character.

An interesting stone chair exists in the ancient cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny. It is traditionally known as the chair of St. Canice, but it is evidently a work of the thirteenth century, and was probably the bishop's seat in the ancient chapter-house. It

is now erected in the north transept, having evidently been removed thither from its original position. The seat is built of blocks of dark limestone.

At the church of the Coptic convent of Alexandria, Pococke saw the celebrated patriarchal chair of St. Mark—at least tradition has for ages past assigned it to the venerated founder of the first Christian Church in Egypt. He gives an engraving of this interesting relic in a "Description of the East," 3 vols., fol., London, 1733, vol. i, p. 7. [See Note 3.]

R. R. BRASH, M.R.I.A.

On Holed Stones.

[1864, *Part II.*, pp. 686-700.]

It is admitted by all studious monumental archæologists, that one of the earliest and most widely diffused forms of superstition has been the reverence and worship paid to stones. The existence of megalithic monuments of the same class in almost every country of our globe, the traditionary reverence paid to such, and the similarity of the superstitions in connection with them, are strong presumptive evidence that at an early period of the history of the human family such a cultus prevailed, and was carried by early migrations from the original seats of the progenitors of our race into almost every land. In Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, are found the stone circle, the cromlech, the pillar-stone, the rocking-stone, the holed stone; and though ages have passed away since these monuments were raised, the superstitions of races long extinct have been handed down from generation to generation, and still linger tenaciously round these hoary relics. Of this class of objects I have singled out the holed stone as the subject of the present paper, and have endeavoured to collect together all that is known respecting it. The holed stone is usually found in the form of a monolith, having a circular orifice varying in dimensions from 2 to 18 inches: the position of the orifice varies also; sometimes it is found in the centre of the stone, sometimes on the extreme edge. The holed stone is also found in connection with cromlechs, it being generally, when so found, one of the supporters. Examples of such are found in Ireland, Brittany, Circassia, India. Whether such examples were originally pillar-stones, subsequently used as a material in forming the cromlech, or whether there was any special object in such an arrangement, we have no means of ascertaining.

I shall now proceed to give a list of these monuments, and of the localities in which they are found.

IRELAND.

On the townland of Ballyveruish, about one mile from the village of Doagh, parish of Kilbride and County of Antrim, stands a large

slab of whinstone: it is 5 feet high above ground, 2 feet 6 inches wide at the base, and about 10 inches in thickness; the orifice is about 3 feet from the ground, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and equidistant from the edges; there is no tradition in the neighbourhood concerning it.—(“Dublin Penny Journal,” 1832-3, p. 343.)

Two miles south of Tullow, in the parish of Aghade and County of Carlow, is a remarkable holed stone; it is called *Cloch-a-Phoill*, literally, in Irish, the “hole stone.” Ryan, in his “History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow,” Dublin, 1833, thus describes it:—

“It is about 12 feet in height, and 4 feet in breadth, having an aperture through near the top. There is a tradition that the son of an Irish king was chained to this stone, but that he contrived to break his chain and escape. This tradition coincides exactly with our historical notice (p. 19). . . . The stone is now thrown from its perpendicular; and it was a practice with the peasantry to pass ill-thriven infants through the aperture, in order to improve their constitution. Great numbers formerly indulged in this superstitious folly, but for the last twenty years this practice has been discontinued. My informant on this occasion was a woman who had herself passed one of her infants through the aperture of this singular stone.”—(P. 338.)

The personage alluded to by Ryan as having been chained to this stone was Eochaidh, the son of Enna Cinselach, who was king of Leinster in the fifth century. The original legend is found in the Book of Ballymote, a vellum MS. of the fourteenth century, preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

A translation of it from the pen of the late Dr. John O'Donovan appeared in the “Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,” vol. v., p. 357. The translation is a literal one, as follows:

“Eochaidh, the son of Enna, king of Leinster [having been for some time at Tara, as an hostage from his father to Niall of the Nine Hostages, monarch of all Erin], absconded and repaired to the south to his own country. He decided on visiting the house of Niall's poet-laureate, Laidginn, the son of Barcead, to refresh himself, but on arriving there he was refused entertainment. He proceeded home then, but soon returned with some followers to the poet's home, burned it, and killed his only son. . . . In the meantime the poet so worked up the feelings of the monarch Niall, that he vowed to march with his army into Leinster and lay it waste, unless the young prince Eochaidh was delivered up to him again, to be dealt with as he should think fit, in expiation of the double insult and violation which had been offered to the sacred persons of himself and his poet. This vow he immediately carried into effect, and the king of Leinster, being unable to offer any effectual resistance, was compelled to deliver up his son as he was commanded. The young prince was conveyed to

Niall's camp, at Ath Fadat (now Ahade), on the river Slaney (about three miles below Tullow), where he was left with an iron chain round his neck, and the end of the chain passed through a hole in a large upright stone, and fastened on the other side. Shortly after, there came to him nine champions of Niall's soldiers, for the purpose of killing him. 'This is bad, indeed,' (said he) at the same time giving a sudden jerk, by which he broke the chain. He then took up the iron bar which passed through the chain at the other side of the stone, and faced the nine men, and so well did he ply the iron bar against them, that he killed them all. The Leinstermen, who were in large numbers in the neighbourhood, finding their prince at liberty, by his own valour, rushed in, led by him, upon their enemies, and a great battle ensued, in which the monarch (Niall) was routed, and forced to retreat to Tulla, and ultimately out of Leinster."

A singular verification of the truth of our historical legends is found in this instance, as was tested by the late Dr. Eugene O'Curry, who in the year 1841 visited this locality with a copy of the story in his hand, for the purpose of ascertaining if the topography afforded any confirmatory evidence of the circumstances alluded to above. The result will be found in the same volume, p. 359, as follows:

"Not having then seen Ryan's 'History of the County Carlow,' he was quite unaware of the existence at the present time of the Hole-stone, mentioned by that writer. However, in moving along the road which runs parallel with the river from Tulla to Ahade, and when near to the latter place, he espied the identical flag-stone lying at the north end of a small field of wheat, close to the left-hand side of the road, with a large lime-kiln nearly opposite, on the other side of the road. Having thus unexpectedly come upon the neighbourhood of the site of the field of battle, he proceeded a short distance forwards, to where some men were at work, at the (left-hand) side of the road, trenching up a small field to a great depth, to get rubble limestone for burning, with which the soil seemed to abound. This appearing to him a fortunate circumstance, he turned into the field, and inquired of the men if they had discovered anything remarkable in their excavations. They answered immediately that they had found the field full of small graves, at a depth of from 18 to 30 inches below the surface, and they showed him some which had not been yet closed up. The graves were formed generally of six flag-stones—one sometimes at the bottom, four at the sides and ends, and one, sometimes more, to cover them in. They were from 3 to 4 feet long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and about 3 feet deep. Every grave contained one, two, or more urns, bottom down, covered with small flags, and contained minute fragments of burnt bones and black ashes or mould."

In the grave-yard of the old church of Kilquane, near Mallow, County Cork, is another of these monuments, as represented by

the following sketch from a drawing by Mr. John Windele, of Cork.

It is a *dallan*, or pillar-stone, 6 feet high above ground, and 2 feet 4 inches wide; the orifice is 4 inches in diameter; it is of a dark, reddish sandstone, and is called by the natives *Cloch-na-Pecaibh*; the peasants state that women used to draw clothes through the hole. It is marked on the Ordnance Map "the Sinner's Stone," which is a pretty correct translation of the above Irish name.

In the same neighbourhood, in the townland of Lacken-darragh, and parish of Kilcoleman, stands another holed stone, represented in the accompanying sketch from a drawing by Mr. Windele.

The stone is 4 feet 5 inches high, 3 feet 3 inches broad, and 1 foot thick. The orifice is not more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter; it stands near an ancient *calluragh*, or unconsecrated burial-ground.

A short distance from the west end of the church of Kilmalkedar, County Kerry, stands a pillar-stone, 4 feet 6 inches in height, 8 inches broad, and 8 inches thick; it is a holed stone, and bears a fine Ogham inscription. Some zealous soul has endeavoured to sanctify its doubly pagan character by scratching a rude cross on its face.

In the churchyard of Castledermot, County Carlow, stands a holed stone, being a rude granite slab; it is engraved in the "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., p. 341. There are no traditions existing among the peasantry respecting it.

About one mile from Ballyferriter, on the road to Dingle, and in the same county, is another of these monuments; it stands in a *calluragh*, is 5 feet in height, the orifice about 2 inches in diameter, and is close to the top of the stone at the left-hand side. This evidently pagan monument has been Christianized by having a Greek cross in a circle, and other ornaments, depicted thereon in very low relief.

About two-and-a-half miles west of Dingle, and on the townland of Ballymoreagh, is a fine Ogham monument, which was a holed stone; the aperture, being on the edge of a fragment, was broken away, leaving about half of the hole. It stands close to a *dochan* (primitive stone-roofed dwelling); near it is also a holy well called Tubber Monachan, to which is attached the pagan legend of a sacred fish, here designated a trout.

The island of Inniscalthra, also called Holy Island, is situated in Lough Derg, an enlargement of the Shannon above Killaloe; on this sacred spot is a fine round-tower, several churches, and *leabhas* or beds (burial-vaults). In the principal church, Teampuil Camin, which is at present used for interments, stands a hole-stone, about 3 feet 6 inches high, and 15 inches wide; it is perforated in the centre of the upper part by a small hole. The top of the stone has been broken off, and a rude attempt at a cross has been scratched round the aperture. Outside of the church is a rough block of stone, with

a bowl-shaped cavity artificially formed—what Borlase would call a rock-basin.

At Moytura, in the County Sligo, are some remarkable megalithic monuments, consisting of stone circles, pillar-stones, cromlechs, giants' graves; this locality was the scene of a great battle between the Fir-bolgs and Tuath-de-Danans, which is celebrated in Bardic history as deciding the sovereignty of the island in favour of the latter. One of these giant's graves is a remarkable monument, over 40 feet in length, and 7 feet in width; the sides are formed of large slabs of stone, partly sunk in the ground, and covered by other slabs; the chamber is divided into three compartments in its length. It lies north and south. One stone closes the south end, which is perforated in the centre by a circular orifice; the north end has two stones, one of which is perforated in the same manner; the holes are about 5 inches in diameter.

I have already stated that cromlechs, with holed stones used in their construction, have been also found in other and far distant localities. In confirmation thereof, I give a sketch of such a monument from Bell's "Residence in Circassia," London, 1840, p. 154.

Bell states that this tomb is about 5 feet high, composed of five enormous slabs of stone, four supporters, and one covering-stone, which last, he says, is 9 feet long and 6 feet broad; in the front slab is a circular aperture sufficiently large for the admission of a child's head. He states that there are several others scattered through the country, but that tradition is silent concerning them. A very remarkable example of a similar arrangement is found in a huge sepulchral chamber, or cromlech, on the small islet of Innis-Gafr, in the Morbihan, a few miles from Locmariaker, Brittany. The cistvaen is still protected by its tumulus, but access can be had to its interior. The side stones of this chamber are covered with rude but elaborate carvings of spirals, circles, and serpentine figures, somewhat of a similar character to those found at New Grange, Dowth, etc. One of the supporting stones on the left-hand side of the cistvaen as you enter is pierced by *three circular apertures*, in a horizontal line, about 4 feet 6 inches from the ground, and about 5 inches in diameter; at the other side of this slab lies another chamber.—("Archæologia Cambrensis," 1862, p. 334.)

CORNWALL.

Cornwall is, *par excellence*, the country of megalithic monuments. Here are to be found every variety of these structures in profusion; the remoteness of the district, and the primitive character of the people, doubtless contributed to their preservation; though we know that here, as in other places, vast numbers of them have been

destroyed wherever they interfered with the convenience or interest of the occupier of the soil.

Borlase describes two classes of monuments in this county, which he designates *Tolmen*, which in the Cornish language signifies "hole stone." The first class he describes as large masses of stone, or boulders, poised upon two supporters, leaving a small space underneath sufficiently large for a man to creep through, and which he argues was an ordeal of purification used by the Celtic priesthood for their neophytes.

This notion of regeneration, or the new birth, by passing through an artificial orifice, is prevalent among the Hindoos, as we shall show by-and-by. *Tolmens* of this class are found in Ireland; one lies on the strand of Ardmore Bay, County Waterford, which now is called Cloch Deglain, after one of the earliest of our Irish saints, whose church and *leabha* are at Ardmore. This stone is an object of the greatest reverence and superstition. Women creep under it to insure a safe delivery; delicate children are made to pass through it; men labouring under rheumatic pains have been brought from a distance of seventy or eighty miles to test its curative powers; in fact, there is scarcely any ill that flesh is heir to but that Cloch Deglain is considered a specific for it. Up to the present time the faith of the peasantry of the surrounding country is unbounded in its miraculous powers. The other class of holed stones described by Borlase is that which I have been endeavouring to illustrate. He gives an illustration of one at Lanyon, in the parish of Madron, Cornwall, which he describes as being one of three stones, standing erect, and forming a triangle on plan. It is a large flat slab about 5 feet by 4 feet above ground, having a circular aperture 16 inches in diameter. He says that—

"A very intelligent farmer of the neighbourhood assured me that he had known many persons who had crept through this holed stone for pains in their backs, and limbs, and that fanciful parents at certain times of the year do customarily draw their young children through, in order to cure them of the rickets. He showed me also two pins carefully laid across each other on the top edge of the holed stone. This is the way with the over-curious even at this time, and by recurring to these pins, and observing their direction to be the same or different from what they left them in, or by their being lost or gone, they are informed of, and resolve upon, some material incident of love or fortune."—(Borlase's "Cornwall," Oxford, 1754, fol. p. 169.)

He describes another holed stone, standing at Rosmodrey Circle in Buryan, as being 5 feet high, 2 feet 6 inches wide, and 6 inches thick, with a circular aperture, 6 inches in diameter, and about 15 inches from the top.—(*Ibid.*, p. 169.) He gives drawings of both these stones.

Mr. J. T. Blight, in a paper read before the Royal Institution of

Cornwall, May 23, 1862, describes an interesting example, which he states to be the largest holed stone in that county. It is situated at Tolven Cross, in the parish of Constantine, and about two miles from the church; it is doubtless the one referred to by Borlase in a foot-note at page 169.

This monument is of a triangular form, 8 feet 11 inches wide at the base, 8 feet 6 inches high to the apex, and about 12 inches average thickness. The orifice is 17 inches in diameter. Mr. Blight says:—

“A few years ago a person digging close to the Tolven discovered a pit in which were fragments of pottery arranged in a circular order, the whole being covered by a flat slab of stone. Imagining that he had disturbed some mysterious place, with commendable reverence he immediately filled up the pit again. Taking the proximity of the barrow in connection with the pit, it seems most probable that the Tolven is a sepulchral monument, stones of this kind being erected, perhaps, to a peculiar class of personages. It is well known that the circle is an ancient symbol of eternity, and it was sometimes adopted as typical of Deity itself. The triangular form of the stone may be accidental. The holed stones at Madron also formed part of a triangular arrangement. Whether a significant connection was intended in this union of the circle and triangle is perhaps worthy of consideration.”

At Carn Kenidjack, near St. Just's, Land's End, are four holed stones, and two others at Bolleit, close by the Celtic monument of Dawns Myin, near St. Buryan's.

Near Madron is the curious monument called *Mên-an-tol*, *i.e.*, the stone with a hole through it. Mr. Blight thus describes it:—

“It stands between two others at the distance of 7 feet 10 inches from one and 7 feet 8 inches from the other. A few yards north-west of the westernmost stone are two others, one fallen, the other upright; and it seems probable that these are the only remaining stones of a circle. The holed stone is 3 feet 6 inches high by 4 feet 3 inches in breadth at base. The hole measures in diameter on one side 2 feet 2 inches, on the other 1 foot 7 inches. One side may have been bevelled for some particular purpose, or perhaps is the result of the hole having been made with a rude instrument worked only on one side of the stone. The hole of the Tolven in the parish of St. Constantine is bevelled in like manner. Superstitious practices have been observed at these stones in modern times. Dr. Borlase has referred to such customs. Children were passed through the *Mên-an-tol* as a cure for spinal diseases.”

SCOTLAND.

Martin, in his “Western Islands of Scotland” (London, 1716, p. 391), states that the inhabitants of these islands were accustomed

to pour out libations of milk, beer, etc., through a *holed stone*, to propitiate a demon named "Browney," who was supposed to preside over the making of butter, brewing of beer, etc. The holed stone, however, is not uncommon in Scotland. Barry, in his Account of the Orkney Isles, describing the stone circle at Stennis, states that—

"Near the circle there are standing stones that seem to be placed in no regular order that we can now discern; and as near the semicircle are others of the same description. In one of the latter is a round hole, not in the middle, but *towards one of the edges*, much worn as if by the friction of a chain by which some animal had been bound."

Barry goes on to argue that the circle at Stennis was a *law*, or place of convention, of the States of Orkney for judicial and religious purposes; and he states that:—

"Before any civil business commenced in these conventions, sacrifices would be performed, and the perforated stone that stands near the semicircle might have served for fastening the victim. . . . At Applecross, in the west of Ross-shire, are standing stones similar to these, some of which are formed into a circle, and others into a *triangle*, with one in the midst of them perforated in the same manner. Very near them also are tumuli, or mounds of earth, such as those mentioned near the stones of Stennis. Another circle, composed of stones of the same nature and in the same circumstances, stands in a moor near Beauly, in Inverness-shire."—"History of the Orkney Islands," 4to., Edinburgh, 1805, p. 209.)

Mr. Daniel Wilson, in his "Pre-historic Annals of Scotland," refers to this stone, traditionally known as the stone of Odin—and states that compacts and engagements were made while hands were joined through the orifice. He writes: "The solemnity attached to a vow ratified by so awful a pledge as this appeal to the 'father of the slain,' the severe and terrible Odin, continued to maintain its influence on the mind till a comparatively recent date." Dr. Henry, writing in 1784, refers to the custom as having fallen into disuse within twenty or thirty years of the time he wrote: and adds, "this ceremony was held so very sacred that the person who dared to break the engagement was counted infamous, and excluded all society." Mr. Wilson on the authority of Principal Gordon, of the Scots' College at Paris, who visited Orkney in 1781, describes the stone of Odin as being 8 feet high, 3 feet broad, and 9 inches thick; with a round hole on the side next the lake.—("Archæology and Pre-historic Annals of Scotland," p. 99.) In conformity with traditions of similar monuments elsewhere, the Orcadians devoutly believed that an infant passed through the aperture would never shake with the palsy. Mr. Wilson further states that a view of this remarkable memorial of ancient manners and superstitions is given in Lady Stafford's "Views in Orkney and on the North-eastern coast of Scotland," drawn in

1805, and has been copied as one of the illustrations for the Abbotsford edition of "The Pirate." But the stone itself no longer exists. After having survived the waste of centuries until it had nearly outlived the last traditionary remembrance of the strange rites with which it had once been associated, it was barbarously destroyed by a neighbouring farmer in the year 1814, along with two stones of the adjacent semicircle.—(*Ibid.*, p. 101.) At Tolmore, in the parish of Kilmorey, Buteshire, there is a celebrated monolithic circle styled *Siode choir Fhioun*, or "Fingal's cauldron seat," one of the columns of which is perforated, and is commemorated in an old Highland tradition as the stone to which the Celtic hero was wont to tie his dog Bran.—(*Ibid.*, p. 99.)

I have before alluded to the appropriation of holed stones and other pagan memorials in Ireland by the professors of a purer faith, by the incising of crosses and Christian emblems on the same. We have a remarkable instance in the accompanying sketch, either of a combination of the virtues of the holed stone and cross, or else the former was fashioned into the form of the latter, its extreme rudeness giving a countenance to the supposition. The sketch is taken from "The Church Architecture of Scotland," Edinburgh, 1861, and represents a rude stone cross found on Eilean Rona, a small islet on the western coast of Scotland; it is pierced at the intersection of the shaft and arms by *three* holes forming a *triangle*. The author states that there was some superstition connected with the holes. The occurrence here of the triangular form is again noteworthy.

Dr. Wise, F.S.A. Scot., who resided for several years in India, showed me several sketches of Celtic monuments existing in southern Bengal, among which are drawings of stone circles, from the rude monolith to the idea refined by Buddhistic symbolism; in which a stone circle of near 150 feet in diameter is composed of monoliths of beautifully dressed stone, in each of which a niche, richly ornamented, is sunk, with a miniature altar and lingam. The stones are covered with delicate symbolical carvings, and are placed quite close together in the circle. The centre is occupied by an altar and lingam. The accompanying sketch exhibits a cromlech with pillar stones, one of which is holed.

The next sketch shows a cromlech, one of the sides of which has a circular orifice, and is of a similar class to those already described as existing in Ireland, Brittany, and Circassia. Both of these are from Musselbunda, near Pedda-naig, Droog Pass, Carnatic.

Mr. Squires, in his "Travels in Central America." (8vo., New York, 1853), describes cairns and carved monoliths existing in the island of Zapatero, Nicaragua; one of them he describes as a figure sitting on a stone pedestal, which latter is artificially perforated with an oval hole, the orifice being chambered at both sides: it is palpably

a holed stone. (Vol. ii. p. 58.) He gives an engraving of the monument.

I have before alluded to the holed stone being an object of superstition among the Hindoos. In southern and northern India megalithic monuments are found in great abundance; Hooker, in his "Himalayan Journal," describes cromlechs, cistvaens, and pillar-stones of enormous magnitude in Sikkim:—

"Nurtiung," he says, "contains a most remarkable collection of those sepulchral and other monuments, which form so curious a feature in the scenery of these mountains, and in the habits of their savage population. They are all placed in a fine grove of trees occupying a hollow, where several acres are covered with gigantic, generally circular slabs of stone, from 10 to 25 feet broad, supported 5 feet above ground upon other blocks; for the most part they are buried in brushwood, nettles, and shrubs, but in one place there is an open area of 50 yards, encircled by them, each with a gigantic head-stone behind it; of the latter the tallest was near 30 feet high, 6 feet broad, and 2 feet 8 inches in thickness, and must have been sunk at least 5 feet, and perhaps more, in the ground."—(P. 257.)

A very remarkable paper was read before the Royal Institution of Cornwall, on November 16, 1858, relative to Celtic remains found in northern India, consisting of cromlechs of various forms, rock-basins, logan-stones, pillar-stones, cairns, sacred wells, etc.

We are not to suppose for a moment that the reverence for sacred stones in India originated with the polished and metaphysical Brahmin; it is evidently, as with us, a remnant of the primeval religion of a primeval race, who through all the changes of religious systems and opinions clung tenaciously to traditionary customs and reverences, and was ultimately grafted on the new faith by the crafty priesthoods of Brahma and Buddha.

Captain Francis Wilford, in a paper on Mount Caucasus, read before the Royal Asiatic Society, states that

"Perforated stones are not uncommon in India, and devout people pass through them when the opening will admit of it, in order to be regenerated. *If the hole be too small*, they put either the hand or foot through it, and with a sufficient degree of faith it answers nearly the same purpose."

The passing through caves, holes between rocks, and holed stones, was with these people symbolical of passing through the sacred Yoni, being born again, regenerated. A remarkable instance of this superstition is given by Captain Wilford in the same paper. He states that two Brahmins were sent by an Indian rajah on a political mission to England, and having in their journey crossed the Indus, according to the Hindoo faith they had contracted impurity and lost caste. The influence of the rajah was exerted in vain on their behalf, the priest-

hood were inexorable, a process of purification must be adopted ; an assembly of Brahmins was held, and they decreed that

“In consequence of their universal good character, and of the motive of their travelling to distant countries, which was solely to promote the good of their country, they might be regenerated, and have the sacerdotal ordination renewed. For the purpose of regeneration it is directed to make an image of pure gold of the female power of nature, in the shape either of a woman or of a cow. In this statue the person to be regenerated is enclosed, and dragged out through the usual channel. As a statue of pure gold and of proper dimensions would be too expensive, it is sufficient to make an image of the sacred Yoni, through which the person to be regenerated is to pass. Rayhu-Nath-Raya had one made of pure gold and of proper dimensions ; his ambassadors were regenerated, and the usual ceremonies of ordination having been performed, and immense presents bestowed on the Brahmins, they were re-admitted into the communion of the faithful.”—(“*Asiatic Researches*,” 4to., London, 1801, vol. vi., pp. 502-535.)

This superstition of the efficacy of “passing through” is prevalent among the Turks. I have been informed that it is a custom often observed by Turkish sailors when overtaken by a storm. They kill a goat, or sheep, and having divided the carcass fairly in halves, they cast one at each side of the ship into the sea. Their vessel having thus performed this symbolic passing through, they expect will be fortunate in escaping the disasters of the ocean. The Turks, the Jews, and most of the people bordering on the Black Sea, retain the superstition of the evil eye ; one of their principal talismans to avert its influence is, to pass the forefinger of the right hand through the circle made by the forefinger and thumb of the left.

It is singular that no monument of this class is known to exist in Wales ; I have written to several antiquaries in the Principality, and all have declared their ignorance of any such.

With respect to England, the only instance of a holed stone which I have been able to verify as existing in that country, I find described in the “*Archæologia*,” vol. viii., p. 209, where a collection of monuments, supposed to be Druidic, is described by Mr. Rooke as the “*Brinham Rocks in Yorkshire* ;” one of these, the side slab of a cromlech, he describes as being pierced in the centre by a circular orifice ; he gives an illustration of the monument.

I think a few inferences may be drawn from the facts already stated. First that the superstition of the holed stone seems peculiar to the “*Goadhal*” or Irish Celts, as the examples existing are almost exclusively found in Ireland, Scotland, and Cornwall, which two latter districts were largely colonised by the Goadhal. Secondly, that the virtues attributed to its use are found either traditionally or in actual existence in the countries whence I have drawn my examples, Ireland,

Scotland, Cornwall, India; and those are, the binding nature of contracts made through them, but more particularly the regenerative power supposed to be communicated by passing through the orifice, whether it be a diseased limb, or the weakly and rickety infant, or the linen about to be used in childbirth. In India it undoubtedly was a Phallic emblem, with a two-fold symbolism, representing in the one monument the reciprocal principles. I am equally certain, that among our Celtic progenitors it had a similar signification, of which the existing myths have a faint shadowing. In Ireland ample evidences are not wanting to show that Phallic dogmas and rites were very extensively known and practised in ancient times. It is patent in the existing folk-lore of the country, in some everyday customs of the peasantry, and in the remains of midnight plays and ceremonies, practised still in remote districts at wakes and such-like occasions. Thirdly, Mr. Blight has before alluded to the triangular arrangement of the stones at Madron, and to the triangular stone at Tolven Cross, Constantine, and hints that the coincidence is worthy of consideration. To these I would add, the triangular arrangement at Applecross, Ross-shire, the triangular arrangement of the aperture on the cross at Eilean Rona, and the thrice-repeated aperture on the supporting slab of the cromlech on Gafr-Inis, Brittany.

The coincidence of the holed cromlechs in Ireland, Yorkshire, Brittany, Circassia, and India, is certainly very remarkable, and cannot by any possibility be accidental, but was evidently the work of design resulting from some prevalent religious or social principle; what the nature of it was is now hidden, and will in all probability be for ever hidden from us.

In conclusion, I am of opinion that there are still existing in these countries many monuments of this class, which have hitherto escaped the observation of explorers. If any readers of the *Gentleman's Magazine* are aware of the existence of such, their publication would be very desirable, in order to perfect, if possible, the meagre list contained in this notice.

RICHARD ROLT BRASH.

[1865, *Part I.*, pp. 221-223.]

I have been reading with interest in your last number Mr. Brash's notes on the "Holed Stones," but cannot agree with his deductions, which would connect them with Eastern or Hindoo customs and traditions. Antiquaries in studying the early and primitive periods of countries, should take into account the state of the mind of man at that rude period, and also the peculiar cast of mind of the nation they are writing about. Now I do not see any connection between the Hindoo mind and the Irish. The mind of the Hindoo is naturally given to mysticism; the tone of his religion is mystic; in all ages it had a tendency to develop all religious ideas in mystic

and allegorical myths. In Ireland we find no traces of this mysticism ; no remnants of deep allegorical myths ; nothing but what would be common to man, in his earliest and primitive stage of development ; nothing but those customs and practices which are the natural result of man's early stage of development, and which flow from the fetichism peculiar to man in that early stage.

Antiquaries, instead of having recourse to far-fetched theories of Phœnician or Eastern origin, would find much more satisfactory results in studying the nature of man in the pre-historic ages, in the earliest stages of his development. Man in the earliest and rudest stage of his development is essentially a fetichist. Many of the customs, habits, practices discovered in remote parts of Ireland, where men are found in a rude and uneducated state, flow from this rude development of the religious principle in man. The worship of stones and wells is shared in common with the African fetichist. Man in his earliest stage will act alike in all countries, as children act and speak nearly alike in all countries, whether born in Ireland, India, or Peru. These practices and customs are not peculiar to any separate race, but peculiar to and the offspring of the mind of man in his earliest and rudest stage.

The mystic and mythical ideas found in the East are the result of a more advanced stage of civilization, and a more refined and thoughtful mind. The idea of regeneration connected with these stones in Ireland is far above the mind of that rude age. The superstitious customs found in Ireland at the present day with regard to these stones, bearing a resemblance to similar customs and practices in India, prove nothing but the common tendency of the mind of man in his rude and barbarous state to indulge in those superstitious practices which are peculiar to fetichism. Dr. Wilson, in his "Pre-historic Man," gives a curious instance of the coincidence of traditions proving no common origin. The stems and bowls of pipes, which are found in several parts of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and which are now generally supposed to have belonged to the soldiers of Cromwell, or the reign of Charles II., are attributed, independently and without any connection, by the peasantry of England, Ireland, and Scotland, to the fairies.

Taking this view into account, I should prefer an explanation which would be more consonant to the customs and traditions of the Celtic mind. In the rude and barbarous period when the worship of pillar-stones, wells, etc., prevailed, among other superstitious customs, was that of lighting fires by night in several places, which was also a kind of religious worship. Another custom also prevalent in the rude ages was that of lighting lamps in cemeteries and in tombs, in honour of the dead. These holes, therefore, may have been used for placing lamps in by night, as a kind of tribute to the memory of the dead, as these stones are generally found in connection with ancient

sepulchres. M. Viollet-le-Duc adopts this view, and mentions in confirmation that even at the present day in Brittany there is a tradition that these stones light up of themselves by night.

I shall mention here another instance of antiquaries being led by these seeming coincidences to far-fetched theories.

An early style of masonry, properly called Polygonal, but more commonly called Pelasgian, is frequently found in several parts of Greece and Italy. The term Pelasgian has been also, but wrongly, applied to a rude style of horizontal masonry found in Ireland. In consequence of this misapplication of terms a theory has been founded that there was a mysterious race, known to the Greeks as Pelasgi or Pelargi, who, coming from the ancient seat of the human family, passed through Greece, Italy, Spain, and finally reached these shores. The so-called Pelasgian walls are therefore considered to be built by this mysterious race, as they passed through these countries. Unfortunately for this theory, a similar style of masonry is found in Peru, where the rashest antiquary will not venture to conjecture that the Pelasgian race ever penetrated. Mr. Fergusson thus notices these walls :

“Examples occur of every intermediate gradation between the polygonal walls of the house of Manco Capac and the horizontal of the Tambos, precisely corresponding with the gradual progress of art in Latium, or any European country where the Cyclopean or Pelasgic style of building has been found. So much so is this the case, that a series of examples collected by Mr. Pentland from the Peruvian remains might be engraved for a description of Italy, and Dodswell's illustrations of those in Italy would serve equally to illustrate the buildings of South America.”

Mr. Fergusson, however, in a genuine philosophic spirit, instead of indulging in the tempting field of speculation and tracing the similarities that exist between this style and that of Egypt, Pelasgia, or Assyria, considers it far safer to ascribe these coincidences to the common instincts implanted by nature in all the varieties of the human race, which lead mankind, in certain climates and at a certain stage of civilization, to do the same thing in the same way, or nearly so, even without any teaching or previous communication with those who have done so before.

I shall here introduce two quotations, one from the Chevalier Bunsen's “Philosophy of History,” and the other from Dr. Todd's “Life of St. Patrick”; which if Irish antiquaries would “read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest,” it would save them a world of wild conjecture and useless theory.

“The name Fena, under which the Scots are almost invariably mentioned in their own records—the old Irish annals and poems—signifies ‘the fair ones,’ being the plural of *Fion*, ‘fair,’ which word is in this form the name of the *heros eponymus* of the whole tribe

Fion Mac Cumhail. The ignorance of the monkish chroniclers of Ireland, who did not understand the meaning of the word *Fena*, was doubtless the cause of the wild notion of the Phœnician origin of the Irish being generally received, just as the story of the celebrated hero, Milesius, as a distinct person, grew out of the ignorance of those chroniclers as to the true meaning of an epithet by which Fion (the *heros eponymus* of the *Fena*) is frequently described by the old Irish bards, namely, the epithet *Miledh*, 'the warrior.'—Bunsen, "Philosophy of History," vol. i., p. 151.

"*Beltine*.—This word is supposed to signify 'lucky' fire, or the fire of the god Bel or Baal. The former signification is possible; the Celtic *Bil*, is good, or lucky, and *tine* 'fire.' The other etymology, although more generally received, is untenable. The Irish pagans worshipped the heavenly bodies, hills, pillar-stones, wells, etc. There is no evidence of their having had any personal gods, or any knowledge of the Phœnician Baal. This very erroneous etymology of the word *Beltine* is nevertheless the source of all the theories about the Irish Baal-worship."—Dr. Todd, "Life of St. Patrick," p. 414.

I am, etc. HODDER M. WESTROPP.

[1865, Part I., pp. 353, 354.]

Mr. Westropp, in your February number, seems to incline to the theory that "holed stones," such as those described by Mr. Brash,* "may have been used for placing lamps in by night, as a kind of tribute to the memory of the dead." As most of these monuments are found in an upright position, it is difficult to imagine how they could have been used for this purpose. There are several of these stones in Cornwall (eleven of which are figured in a recent number of the "Archæologia Cambrensis"), differing much in size and form. The largest, the Tolven, in the parish of S. Constantine, measures 8 feet 6 inches in height, and 8 feet 11 inches in breadth at the base, whence it diminishes to a point at the summit. The hole, 2 feet 7 inches from the ground, is 17 inches in diameter. The *Mên-an-tol*,† though not so large a stone as the Tolven, has a hole 26 inches in diameter on one side, 19 inches on the other. The bevel or splay may probably have been caused by the stone being worked on one side only by a rude instrument. Both these stones stand erect. The latter has evidently never been moved since first placed as it is now seen; and the Tolven, though it was some years ago in a reclining position, has been restored to its perpendicular state.

The other holed stones in Cornwall which have come under my notice have holes just sufficiently large to pass one's arm through; and, as many of these have been removed from their original sites,

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec., 1864, p. 686 [*ante*, pp. 43-54].

† *Ibid.*, April, 1864, p. 445 [see *ante*, p. 49, and note 4].

there is now no evidence as to their former exact position, though from their formation the greater number apparently stood erect.

There is, however, certainly one exception, the cap-stone of the great cromlech at Trevethy, near Liskeard. This is pierced by a hole 6 inches in diameter; and if we believe that it was made for the reception of a lamp, we must, of course, at the same time reject the theory that all cromlechs were buried under mounds of earth.

In the case of the upright stones, it may be suggested that the lamps rested on what may be termed the sills of the holes; but the larger examples are too acutely bevelled to admit of this.

That these curious monuments had some sepulchral use appears highly probable, from the fact of their being found near barrows, stone circles, and cromlechs.

The superstitious practices connected with the Cornish holed stones have already been noticed in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

I am, etc. J. T. BLIGHT.

Cornwall.

[1807, *Part II.*, p. 717.]

In Peacock's "Compendious Geographical Dictionary" is the following article:—

"Cleer, St., a parish of Cornwall, remarkable for a piece of antiquity called the other Half Stone; which indeed are two stones fixed in the ground, and by mortises in each seem to have been formerly joined together. On both are curious diaper-work carvings, with the following inscription upon one of them, in very antique characters: 'Doniert rogavit pro anima.' This Doniert, or Dungarth, King of Cornwall, was drowned about A.D. 182."

Allow me to enquire of any correspondent who may know anything of this place, whether these stones with the inscription are still to be seen, which (if it be the case) is certainly a great piece of antiquity, and some public form of the same (I think) ought to be preserved.

Yours, etc. D. D. S.

[1767, pp. 358, 359.]

While many of our countrymen are running over Italy and the East in search of antiquities and natural curiosities, I am amusing myself with viewing every thing worth attention in our own island.

I often think, that while Britain was subject to the Romans, its native inhabitants were to that people, nearly what the Indians of America are at this day to us; for the arts had flourished a long time in Rome before they were either known or cultivated by our ancestors. Hence it is that Italy affords a more copious field of entertainment to the learned and the curious; nevertheless, I think I may venture to

allege that we have at home some monuments, as ancient at least, though not so superb and elegant, as any to be found in the neighbouring nations.

There is in this parish [St. Clere, Cornwall] an amazing group of stones, called the "Wringcheese," of which I have sent you a drawing. The whole pile is 32 feet in height; the upper stone, B, was a logan, or rocking-stone, and might, when entire, be easily moved with a pole; upon the top of it were two regular basons, one of which has been broken, as may be seen at A. The vast weight of the upper part from A to C, and its small contact with the lower part, at D E, makes every one wonder how such an amazing heap of stone should have sustained itself for so many ages, and in a situation so exposed. The ingenious and learned Mr. Borlase imagines that it is not an artificial building of flat stones, laid carefully one upon another by human labour; but rather supposes it to be a natural cragg, and that what stones surrounded it and hid its grandeur, were removed by the Druids. From the great elevation of the groupe, from the just equilibrium of the upper part, from the top-stone being a rocking-stone, and from its having rock-basons engraven upon it, he makes no scruple to rank it among the rock-deities; and suggests that its tallness and exact balance might probably be intended to express the majesty and justice of the Divine Being.

R. N.

[1807, *Part II.*, p. 1023.]

There is in this parish [St. Clere] a cromlech in good preservation, called "*The Frethevy-stone*"; it consists of several upright stones, and a large one for a roof or cover to the building.*

The well-known large pile of stones called the *Cheese-wring*, though a natural production, and not properly to be classed amongst antiquities, must not be here passed over. It stands on a hill, where there are an immense number of stones, and several other piles of stones not very unlike this, but not quite so conspicuous. The *rock-basons*, which are to be seen on a stone to the north of this pile (and said also to be on this), if artificially cut, make these stones antiquarian curiosities. The height of the Cheese-wring (or Wring-cheese) has been greatly exaggerated by writers; the real height, if accurately taken, would not, it is believed, measure more than about 17 or 18 feet. Borlase calls it 32 feet high.†

British Works near Bittaford Bridge, Devon.

[1831, *Part II.*, pp. 301, 302.]

Among the numerous memorials of the various conflicts between our British and Saxon progenitors, which adorn the County of Devon,

* Norden, p. 88, with a figure; Stukeley's "Avebury," pl. 37, 2nd figure; no doubt this.

† Borlase, p. 173, pl. 12, fig. 1; Gough, pp. 5-7; Norden, p. 91, with a figure; Ray, p. 289; Carew, fol. 129.

none exceeds that on the moor between the village of Bittaford Bridge and Harford Church, in the hundred of Ermington, either in extent or interest. The village of Bittaford Bridge, consisting of a few scattered cottages with a small inn, is situated in a little dell facing the south, 13 miles from Plymouth, at the junction of the Totnes and Exeter roads. Harford Church* is distant from it 2 miles to the northward.

This hoary monument of the valour of our ancestors commences within a quarter of a mile of the above village. The first thing that attracts the attention are several large stones surrounded by an earthen circle many yards in circumference, and a few inches above the surface of the ground; these are in the north-western corner of a field on the right-hand side of the road, near a rivulet; two of them are erect, the others are lying half buried in the soil. The highest is about 5 feet in height, and 3 wide at the broadest part; the other, which is closely connected with it, is 4 feet high and 3 broad at the top, but gradually increases in breadth towards the ground, and at length terminates in a point; neither of them is more than a foot in thickness. This doubtlessly covers the remains of some chieftain.

Further on are a range of barrows, running nearly in a direct line across the moor, south-west and north-east, when they ascend a hill, on the summit of which are three, giving name to it, "Three-barrow Tor." They are composed of stones of all sizes and weights, from a few ounces to as many pounds, varying from 60 to 80 paces round at the base, and from 6 to 8 feet high, and distant from each other about 200 yards. They are all more or less injured, from the great quantities of stone constantly taken from them by the neighbouring farmers for the purpose of making fences, etc. There are likewise several small circular buildings of rough stones, rudely put together without any kind of cement, standing on low mounds of earth. The wall of the one I examined was 4 feet high on the outside, and 37 paces in circumference; but on the inside, from the soil that partly filled it, it was not more than 20 paces round, and 2 feet high: the hillock on which it stood was about a yard in height, and 66 paces round at the base.

Near the northern extremity of the same common is a pile of rocks, perpendicular on the north side, but on the south of rather easy ascent, surrounded by an immense slab, somewhat oblong in form; near the southern margin of which is an irregular shallow rock-bason,

* This church stands on the east bank of the romantic little river Erme, which is here crossed by an ancient bridge, and is a prominent feature in the landscape. It consists of a nave, chancel, and south aisle, with a neat tower at the west end. The interior cannot boast of much beauty, the windows being entirely stripped of their fretwork, and the only monument a plain tablet on the north wall. The churchyard is pretty, and contains an ancient tomb or two. Yet, however interesting Harford Church may be to the tourist from its picturesque situation and the grandeur of the surrounding scenery, it has but little to recommend it to the antiquary.

with a channel leading to the edge of the rock : whether this excavation be of Druidical origin or not, I must leave to those who are better able to determine ; although I consider it as likely to have been employed in the mystic rites of the hierarchy of ancient Britain, as any of those attributed to that sacred body by Borlase.

Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH CHATTAWAY.

Account of a Druidical Temple at Gorwell, Dorset.

[1815, *Part I.*, pp. 401-404.]

The following account of Druidical remains in Dorsetshire (*see Pl. II.*) was originally drawn up by the late Rev. James Knight Moor, for the pages of your useful miscellany. It having been previously printed in the new edition of the History of Dorsetshire (from the necessary confined circulation of that work), will perhaps be no objection to your inserting it.

B. N.

“The County of Dorset has been long celebrated for its Roman and Saxon antiquities; and its military roads, stations, and monastic remains have been again and again explored and described. It has also considerable claim to the notice of the antiquary, on account of the traces it contains of our British ancestors. The Downs have certainly been the scene of the mysterious rites of the Druids, and, perhaps, of their last struggle with the Romans in this part of Britain. Besides the two small temples and other Druidical relics described by Mr. Hutchins, near Winterbourne Abbas, the remains of a similar temple and cromlech have been lately noticed in the same neighbourhood by the gentlemen who have been appointed by the Board of Ordnance to survey, and make a map of the county. They are situated upon a level plain, on the summit of the lofty eminence between Kingston Russel and Gorwell, having the deep vale watered by the River Bride to the north and north-west, and Gorwell Farm, in the parish of Litton, in the vale to the south. The Roman camp at Abbotsbury is upon the opposite hill to the south, and completely overlooks the whole plain, the deep valley beneath it, and the surrounding country to the west and north-west, as far as Eggardon Camp.

The site of the Druidical circle or temple is only a few yards from the south-eastern extremity of Kingston Farm, and immediately above Gorwell House. This farm or hamlet appears to take its name from the fine piece of water which runs at the foot of the hill near the house, and glides through a deep sequestered valley (whose almost precipitous sides are still mantled with woods), till it falls into the Bride.* This temple, though little now remains except the mere

* May not the spring which gives name to the vale south of the temple derive its name from the bloody sacrifices of the Druids, or some unrecorded cruelties of the successful enemies? and its sister stream, the Bride, or Brede, from the same word which has given name to the whole island?

bases of the upright stones, was of greater extent than any hitherto noticed in the county. One stone only, and that in a very mutilated state, is at present standing; the rest have been all thrown down, evidently with design, and broken to pieces. The fragments which remain form a circle of between 70 and 80 feet diameter, and appear nearly as represented in the plate. There are no traces of an exterior circle. Two or three large stones, which lie at a little distance, have evidently rolled to their present situation since the destruction of the temple. The entrance was probably on the east side, and (if a conjecture may be made after the lapse of so many ages, from the stones which still lie upon the ground partly covered with turf, we may suppose that it was formed by two uprights and an impost. The stones consist of very close and solid masses of conglutinated flints, of the same nature and texture with the craggs which project from the side of the hills above the town of Abbotsbury. The dimensions as given below, being merely taken with a riding-stick, cannot be perfectly accurate, but are sufficiently so for a general description:—

A 1. An upright stone, 5 feet high, about 2 thick.

A 2. A smaller stone, 4 feet long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, lying by the former, from the top of which it was probably broken off.

B 1. B 2. B 3. Three stones thrown down, and partly buried in the ground.—B 1. about 8 feet long and 3 broad in the widest part.—B 2. $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 3 feet; they are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet above ground.—B 3 is nearly covered by the turf.—These are probably fragments of the same upright.

C, about 1 foot above ground; $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet of the surface of the stone appear above ground.

D, about 1 foot above ground; surface $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $3\frac{1}{2}$.

E, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet above ground; $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 3 feet broad.

F, about 5 feet long, 4 broad, nearly buried.

G, but little above the turf. This is probably only a fragment broken from F or H.

H, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad.

K, large fragments, partly covered with turf. Probably the entrance.

L. L. L, fragments partly buried.

Upon the same plain, nearly opposite to what we may suppose to have been the entrance of the temple, and only a short distance from it, are several other large rude stones, which appear to be the remains of a cromlech, or kistvaen. From their situation we may reasonably conjecture that they were originally an appendage to the temple; and perhaps an altar upon which the Druids consumed their bloody and inhuman sacrifices. These stones, which are known by the name of "The Grey Mare and Her Colts," are upon an oblong barrow in a field near Gorwell farm; and command a fine view of Abbotsbury encampment to the west, and beyond that of the sea and the bold

cliffs on the coast of Dorset and Devon as far as the eye can reach. The view of the sea to the east and the south is intercepted by Blackdown and Abbotsbury hills. The cromlech is distant from the Druidical Circle about a quarter of a mile, and perhaps formed the termination of an avenue leading to the east entrance of the temple.

A, B, C, D. Stones which formed the east end of an oblong barrow.—A, B, are still standing, about 7 feet high, 6 broad, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ thick.—D, is about the same dimensions, but has been thrown down.—C appears to have been the base of another stone, which stood in the same line, or of the one now lying upon the ground.

E, a stone about 2 feet high, a little west of the former, probably one of the supporters of the lower side of the impost.

F, a large stone lying upon the barrow, probably a part of the flat stone which formed the top of the cromlech, of an irregular shape, and appears to have been designedly broken to pieces.

G, an oblong barrow, which rises with a gradual ascent from west to east, so as to form an easy ascent to the summit of the cromlech.

A hedge passes over the lowest or west end of the barrow, which is overgrown with thorns. These stones, like those in the Druidical Circle near it, consist of flints conglutinated with a kind of stone of very hard and close texture. They appear as if they had been originally chipped into form for the purpose they might be designed for, with a mason's hammer; but are of too hard a nature to have been wrought with an edged tool.

The peculiar fitness of the situation for the purposes of Druidical worship and superstition; the extensive horizon, and elevated plain (for astronomical observations), surrounded by deep and almost impervious valleys abounding with their favourite oak, may lead us to suppose that this place was of considerable note among the Druids; though it might not, like Stonehenge, or Avebury, be metropolitan, or of the first rank. The number of barrows (undoubtedly the work of a settled people) dispersed on all sides over the surrounding downs, and the strong Roman camps in the neighbourhood, tend to strengthen this conjecture. The barrows are now well known to be British, and are supposed to be family burying places; the different groups being appropriated to different families, and each barrow to some particular individual, or branch of the family. They are more numerous upon these downs than in any other part of the West of England, except in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge and Avebury. May we not therefore suppose that these groups of barrows, both here and in Wilts, owe their origin to the same cause? the vicinity of the downs to a favourite seat of Druidical worship, and to that desire which many (particularly uncivilized) people sometimes show, to have their mortal remains deposited near some sacred spot or temple? If we suppose (what the nature of the country, which bears a strong resemblance to some parts of Wales, might lead us to believe) that

this was a seat of the Druids, and perhaps one of those strong situations or fastnesses to which they retired upon the successes of the Romans, we have a probable reason for the erection of so many camps within a short distance of each other. The camps at Eggardon, Abbotsbury, Maiden Castle, and Kingston, all within a short distance of Gorwell, are so situated as to cut off all communication either by sea or land, and might be intended to overawe the Britons, to drive them from their strong retreat, and suppress their superstitious rights. Coins of Vespasian have been frequently found in this neighbourhood. We may therefore probably fix the destruction of these monuments of our British ancestors, the erection of these strong camps, and the final submission of this part of the island to the Roman eagle, to the beginning of his reign under the government of Petilius Cerealis, or his immediate predecessor, before the invasion of the country of the Silures.

J. K. MOOR.

Temple at Winterborn Abbey, etc.

[1768, pp. 112, 113.]

No. 1 is an irregular square; one of the angles fronts the area; it is 7 feet high, 3 feet each side.

No. 2, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and broad.

No. 3, 5 feet 8 inches high, 6 feet 6 inches broad at the base, 1 foot thick.

No. 4, 3 feet high and broad.

Nos. 5, 6, 2 feet high and broad.

No. 7, scarce 1 foot high and broad.

Nos. 8, 9, 2 feet 10 inches high, 4 feet 6 inches broad.

The thickness of each stone, except Nos. 1 and 3, is generally about 3 feet. Their form, except Nos. 1 and 3, is a rude irregular square.

About half a mile west of Winterborn Abbey, in a small enclosure, just by the left hand of the road that leads from Dorchester to Exeter, are nine stones of unequal dimensions, placed in a circular form; the diameter is about 28 feet, their distance from each other is unequal, but generally about 6 feet. One of them is 7 feet high, another 6, the rest not above 3. Their inequality seems to be owing to time and the weather. On the north-east is an aperture, which, whether originally left for an entrance, is uncertain; if not, there are two or three stones wanting. Some have thought they are petrified clumps of flint, others, more probably, that they were brought from a quarry at Little Bridy, about a mile south-west from hence. It was not improbably a British temple. Scarce a mile farther lie some stones which seem to be the remains of some imperfect ancient monuments. Hereabout is a vast number of barrows, neatly turned and campaniform; many of them are surrounded by a trench or ditch.

A quarter of a mile east of Poxwell, near the road from Winfrith Newburgh to Weymouth, are fifteen stones, ranged in a circular form; one or two seem to be wanting on the north-east, or perhaps a vacant space was left for an entrance. Some of them are quite level with, others but little above the surface of the ground; two on the south-west are 2 feet high and broad, some scarce 1. They are extremely rude, irregular, and full of holes, worn by the weather and time; they stand on a tump, or rising ground, round which are the remains of a shallow ditch. The diameter of the circle is $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards; eight or nine paces from this are three or four erect stones, which might perhaps have been the remains of another; about 200 yards from these, on the north-east, are four larger, which perhaps formed another larger circle, or might have been an avenue to the former.

In this county are many barrows of a singular kind; they are long and generally large, narrow at the top, more or less, and slant off at the sides and ends. There is one of the barrows near Pimper, by Blandford, called long barrow, 224 feet long and 10 feet perpendicular. A large one near Tarent-Gunvil, not far off, was lately opened by Countess Temple, but nothing found under it but a vast quantity of human bones. One near Bradford Peverel, by the road between that vill and Dorchester, is surrounded at the basis with rude stones; at Shipton hill in that chapelry, near higher Stirt hill, not far from the road between Bridport and Dorchester, is a vast long barrow; it stands on an eminence, and at a distance looks like a large boat, or hull of a ship, turned keel upwards; it is 749 feet long, 161 broad at top, 147 high in a slant line. There are in some places another singular kind of barrows; they are round, small, almost contiguous, seem to have but one common basis, only divided at the top, and stand in a line, two, three or more. By their vicinity, they may be supposed to be the burial-places of a family. They appear thus

On Nine Barrow down, 3 miles east of Corfe Castle, so called from some of the largest and highest, though they are ten in number, are round, and seem to be Roman. Between these, and on the south side of them, are sixteen tumps of no considerable convexity, and of various diameters; they are all neat and campaniform, and mostly surrounded by a shallow trench; near them is one single pit, or cavity, perhaps a place for sacrifices. [See Note 5.]

Description of Kit's Coty House.

[1763, pp. 248, 249.]

As hitherto no very particular description or accurate draught has been made public of that ancient British monument called Kit's Coty House, this may not, perhaps, be disagreeable to your readers. If you are of the same opinion, please to insert it in your next magazine.

Kit's Coty House is situated on the brow of a hill, about a mile and a half from Aylesford, a quarter of a mile to the right of the great road leading from Rochester to Maidstone, and is composed of four vast stones, of that sort called Kentish Ragg; two are set parallel; a third at the west end, perpendicular to these two, and closing the end; the fourth, which is the largest, is laid transversely over, in the manner of Stonehenge, only this is neither mortised nor parallel to the horizon, but reclines towards the west in an angle of nine degrees. Perhaps the east end, now open, was once likewise closed, as at about 70 yards to the north-west lies another large stone, of the same sort and form as those now standing.

The dimensions of the stones are as follows:—That on the south side is 8 feet high by 7 feet 6 inches broad, and 2 feet thick, weighing about 8 tons; that on the north 8 feet by 8, and 2 feet thick, weighing 8 tons 10 hundred; the end stone is extremely irregular, 5 feet 6 inches high by 5 broad, thickness 14 inches, weight about 2 tons 5 hundred; the transverse, or impost, is likewise pretty irregular, length 11 feet by 8 broad, and 2 thick, weighs 10 tons 7 hundred-weight.

This stupendous monument, according to Camden and others, is erected over the burial-place of Catigern, brother to Guortimere, or Vortimer, King of the Britons, slain in a battle fought near Aylesford between the Britons and Saxons, in which likewise fell Horsa, the adverse general, who was buried at a place in this neighbourhood, from him now called Horstead.

I have only this to add, that, on inquiry, the nearest quarry is at the distance of six miles. [No Signature.]

[1833, *Part I.*, pp. 12, 13.]

It may be well to preserve, from the *Maidstone Journal* of July 4, 1822, the account given of the discovery [of Kit's Coty House] at the time it took place. "On Friday last, as some workmen were ploughing in a field belonging to Mr. George Fowler, situated about a quarter of a mile from Kit's Coty House, the ploughshare was impeded by something, which had repeatedly been the case before. The men, in order to ascertain the cause of the obstruction, commenced digging, and a little below the surface found two stones about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, lying lengthwise upright, but rather slanting, between which was a skeleton, in nearly a perfect state. The skull, the teeth, and two of the vertebræ of the neck, were quite perfect. On being exposed to the air, they soon crumbled into dust. The body lay directly east and west, and at the bottom was a stone, which lay flat. This was supposed to have been occasioned by the pressure of the earth above. (The description is confused, but I should think this was the cover or lid of the kistvaen, which had fallen in.) The other stones appear to be exactly similar

to those of Kit's Coty House, and, it is conjectured, were placed there about the same time."

On reference to the second volume of Stukeley's "Itinerarium Curiosum," four plates will be found respecting the celebrated Kit's Coty House, and other similar remains in this vicinity. Two of the plates contain bird's-eye views of the country (taken in 1722), in the latter of which (pl. 33), not far from the most conspicuous cromlech, will be seen a large stone, then called the General's Tomb, and in different parts of the adjacent fields three others are shown, to one of which the above newspaper anecdote probably relates. About half a mile nearer Aylesford, in the valley, are still the remains of a larger monument than the celebrated and conspicuous cromlech. It is seen in Stukeley, pl. 33, as "the lower Coty House;" and in plates 31 and 32, he has attempted to restore it to the form of the letter D. In pl. 34 he has given a near view of its actual appearance; and another will be seen in Thorpe's "Costumale Roffense," pl. iv., p. 68; and a very careful plan of it was communicated by Edward Rudge, Esq., F.S.A., to our vol. xciv., i. 125. [See *post*, p. 68.] There was still, besides, a fourth monument in the immediate neighbourhood, a "stone called the coffin, in the hedge above Tottington," of which also Mr. Thorpe has engraved a view (pl. iii.), and the exact position of which is shown both in his plan and Stukeley's views. [See Note 6.]

[1824, *Part I.*, pp. 125, 126.]

About half a mile south-east of the village of Enstone in Oxfordshire, upon the hill at a short distance from the road to Oxford, there is a large stone standing upright, of considerable dimensions. From the road it has much the appearance of the Rollrich stone, called the King's stone, near Long Compton, Oxfordshire.

I was induced a few years since, on my return from Worcestershire, to take a nearer view and measurement of it by having the ground removed and cleared to the base of the stones, which convinced me that it had been a cromlech (*i.e.*, an inclined stone), originally standing upon three stones of smaller dimensions still remaining near it, but from which it had long since been thrown off and set upright in the ground, with only one of the stones on which it had rested standing in its original position close by its side.

This ancient relic is situated upon a mound of earth apparently artificial, raised about 3 feet above the surface of the field; and of the two other stones that supported the cromlech, which are lying down at a short distance from it, one is partly buried under the soil.

The large upright stone is of a semicircular form. Its height above the surface of the ground is 8 feet 2 inches; its greatest width is 6 feet 10 inches; 3 feet 6 inches thick, 10 feet 9 inches from the top to its extremity under the soil, and it is in the same rough state as when taken from the quarry.

Dr. Plot is the only author who appears to have mentioned this stone, and his opinion inclines to its being of British origin.

"There stands also a stone about half a mile south-west of Enston Church, on a bank by the wayside between Neat-Enston and Fulwell, somewhat flat, and tapering upward from a broad bottom, with other small ones lying by it; and another near the road betwixt Burford and Chipping Norton, which I guess might be erected for the same purpose with the two former, as above mentioned: unless we shall rather think both these and them to have been some of the gods of the ancient Britons, as the reverend and learned Dr. Stillingfleet thinks it not improbable those pyramidal stones, mentioned by Camden in Yorkshire, called the Devil's Bolts, sometimes were. And so likewise Stonehenge in Wiltshire, which he judges neither to be a Roman temple nor Danish monument, but rather somewhat belonging to the Idol Markolis, which Buxtorf saith the Rabbins called domum Kolis, of which more hereafter when I come into that county, and into Kent, where is Kit's Coty House, which I take to be an antiquity of the same kind."—"History of Oxfordshire," p. 351.)

A short time afterwards I made an excursion to Kit's Coty House* in Kent, one of the most perfect cromlechs existing in England, so called from Christopher, the name of an old shepherd, who formerly made it his habitation for a number of years, from which it became distinguished by the vulgar as Kit's Cote, or cottage, and not, as erroneously supposed, from its having been the burial-place of Cattigern, to whose name it bears no relation.

Half a mile below this cromlech, and fronting the same aspect, nearer to Aylesford, in a field near the road, there is a heap of stones, which was so much overgrown with coppice, elm, and white thorn that it was nearly inaccessible. The tenant of the land, upon being applied to, readily cleared it of the underwood, which enabled me to take a plan and measurement † of these stones, which lie in an oval space of 89 feet circumference, within which there are now sixteen stones large and small, apparently the remains of a Druidical monument, consisting of five or six cromlechs, all now completely overthrown. Several of the smaller stones are partly covered by and support some of the larger ones which have fallen upon them, and are raised above the ground in a slanting position. The tenant remembers when the cromlech marked A was resting upon its supports, which, with some others, have been since taken away, and also the circumstance of its falling down in consequence of his digging under it. He asserts that human bones and pieces of armour were found beneath it, and have likewise been turned up by the plough in various parts of the same field.

* Two excellent views of Kit's Coty House were drawn by the late W. Alexander, Esq., F.S.A., and etched by Mr. G. Cooke. See, also, Thorpe's "Customale Roffense," p. 68.

† The measurement of the stones may be ascertained by the scale.

These monuments are spoken of by our earliest historians as of things beyond tradition, the use of which could be even in their time but barely conjectured, and it is only by comparing their accounts of the religious rites and civil customs of the aborigines of this island that a plausible hypothesis can be formed of the purposes for which they were erected.

EDW. RUDGE.

An Account of the Remains at Stanton-Drew, in Somersetshire.

[1785, *Part II.*, pp. 761-763.]

Being at Bristol Wells in 1784, I went from thence on May the 18th, to see the remains of a supposed Druid Temple at Stanton-Drew. The first appearance did not offer anything which seemed to deserve a second attention; however, being on the spot, and it being yet early in the morning, and cool, I engaged myself in a more deliberate examination of it. I first marked the general form, and then the relative position of the several stones or parts. I next measured the diameter (taking it in several directions), and the distances of the stones from each other. I soon discovered that the positions of all these stones could not be reduced to the periphery of a circle. I then made a second measurement, on an experiment, to try which of these several parts could be reduced to a circle, and what relative bearings the rest had to such circle. I will not presume to have attained a mathematical precision; for not having, as I generally have on these occasions, my compass with me, my observations on the polar and meridional bearing of this structure were made by comparing it with that of the church, which stands near it, and also with the sun's place at the hour I made these observations. The measurements I made, in part, with a long line of packthread, and in part by pacing the ground. The day grew excessive hot, and I began to grow tired; it is therefore proper to say, I will not be so positive as to the exactness of my measurements, at the latter part of the time as at the beginning. However, from such observations as I was able to make, under these circumstances, I do not apprehend that they will prove to have incurred any essential error, which can effect the general description that I shall give.

The following result appears to me to be nearest the truth.

The stones, and apparent places of stones, marked 1, 2, 3, b, c, 9, 10, 11, 12, seem to stand in the periphery of a circle, whose diameter is 260 feet. The stones, and apparent places of stones, marked 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, appear to stand in the periphery of another circle, of the same diameter, intersecting the former in such a manner, that the two centres, bearing east and west of each other, are at 70 feet distance,

so that the whole forms an ellipsis, whose longest diameter is 330 feet, and the lesser 260, there or thereabouts, for I will not affect more precision than I can answer for. There is another stone, A, which I will mention presently.

In a line directly east from the stone, marked 7, at the east end of the ellipsis, stand two stones, 13, 14, the first at about 16, the second about 12 paces distance.

At 17 paces distance, directly north of the two last mentioned stones, is another circular group of stones, which, upon measurement, I found to be a circle of 53 or 54 paces, the stones standing in the general bearing and relative positions as marked in the plan.

After this general description, which will be best understood by reference to the plan annexed, I will submit some observations, and some opinions which I made, and arose on my mind, on this curious remnant of antiquity.

The first and principal of these two structures I suppose to be formed by two intersecting circles making the boundary line of an ellipsis. This boundary is not formed of one continued wall or sept, but marked by large unhewn stones, set up erect at various distances from each other, according to the usual manner of these patriarchal buildings. These stones are in height from 8 to 14 feet, from 6 to 8 or 10 broad, and 3 or 4 feet thick.

The western end is marked by one large erect stone, 1; the eastern by two stones, 6 and 7, standing at about 8 paces distance from each other. The south, at or near the intersection of the circles, is marked by two stones, about 3 paces from each other, both lying at present horizontal; whether they ever were erect may be a doubt. I am rather disposed to think they were originally in this position. The north is marked by two stones on each side the intersection, the one is standing, the other is fallen down; these may have been so placed, as I can conceive, for religious astronomical purposes.

The stone at 5 is not only thrown down, but appears to me to have been removed from the place in the periphery marked ✕.

I was told upon the spot, by the present owners of the estate where this structure is found, that Lord Sandwich did, some years ago, take an actual survey of it. I wish that survey, which must be better and more precise than this which I have made in the manner above described, could be obtained from his lordship.

I have seen, since the writing of this paper, a plan of this structure inserted in a map, said to be taken by measurement. Exactly as I have said above, the measurer could not reduce all the stones to the periphery of a circle. Part he has so plotted down, as I have done; the rest, he declares, he can make nothing of.

He mentions and gives the plan of two other groups of stones, which I had not time to examine.

I am happy to find that allowing for the variation of the compass,

my general bearings and his do not differ essentially; but, as he says his were taken by actual survey, I will suppose his to be more exact than mine.

T. P.

Long Meg and her Daughters.

[1752, p. 311.]

I went some days ago to examine that curious remain of British antiquity called "Long Meg and her Daughters," about which it must be acknowledged all conjectures are extremely uncertain.

They are situated upon an eminence on the east side of the river Eden, near a mile from it, above a village called Little Salkeld. This eminence appears to have been all moor formerly, but now about half the stones are within enclosures, placed in an orbicular form, in some places double. I make seventy principal ones, but there are one or two more disputable. Several lie flat on the surface, their greatest eminence not exceeding a foot; others yet less, and others perpendicular to the horizon. The highest of those in the circular range does not much exceed 3 yards, nor is it more than 4 wide and 2 deep; but none of them have a regularity of shape, though the constructors seem to have aimed at a parallelopipedon. Long Meg herself is near 4 yards high and about 40 yards from the ring towards the southwest, but leans much, it being of what they call the free-stone kind, is more regular than those in the circle, and is formed like a pyramid on a rhomboidal base, each side being near two yards at the bottom, but a good deal narrower at top. (What I mean by the base is only the ground-plan of the stone itself, for as to what is in architecture called base it has none but the earth.) The others in the orbicular range are of no kind of stone to be found in that neighbourhood, and the four facing the cardinal points are by far the largest and most bulky of the whole ring. They contain at least 648 solid feet, or about 13 London cartloads, and, unless they are a composition (which I am much induced to believe), no account can be given what carriages could have brought them there, nor by what means they could be placed erect when they came. It is to be noted that these measures are only what appeared above ground. We have reason to suspect that at least a yard is lost in the earth, which will make the whole amount to a prodigious weight more. Others are erect, but not of such enormous size, and others, as I said before, lie flat long, not thrown down, as I think, but so placed either by choice or design, and some of these are also very large. In diameter the ring may be 80 yards or more, and the circle is pretty regular, but how they came there and their destination is the important question. [See Note 7.]

I am, sir, yours, etc. G. S.

[1752, pp. 372, 373.]

The vulgar notion that the largest of these stones has breasts, and resembles the remainder of a female statue, is caused by the whimsical irregularity of the figure, in which a fervid imagination may discover a resemblance of almost anything; as various figures are discovered in burning coals, veins of marble, and floating clouds, which cannot possibly be pointed out to another, though to another, without being pointed out, they would necessarily be visible if they had any existence in the fire, marble, or cloud, and were not merely creatures of the imagination. . . . The substance of these stones, except the tallest—which is not, however, the largest—is a compound of small pebbles, sufficiently indured—run together with coarse sand and such other ingredients as rendered the whole mass fusible at different times before the last stratum grew too hard to admit a coalition of the next. . . . They appear to suffer but little by change of weather, though their situation is remarkably bleak. . . .

G. S.

Carl Lofts at Shap, Westmoreland.

[1824, Part I., pp. 3, 4.]

At Shap is a stupendous monument of antiquity called Carl Lofts, *i.e.*, “the liftings of the Ceorles or husbandmen.” It is composed of two rows of large stones of unhewn granite, from 6 to 12 feet in diameter. The form is a gentle curve, or something like the head of a well-formed mason’s hammer. It commences about half a mile south of the town, and runs parallel with the Kendal road, on the east side, for about three-quarters of a mile, when it turns off in a north-west direction for about the length of a mile; that is, making its whole length about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles, or perhaps about 3,000 yards. At the south end about 20 yards from the south-west corner, on the outside of the stones, was a small tumulus, which, since the enclosure of Shap common in 1815, is now levelled and destroyed. When this tumulus was opened into, it was found to be composed of granite and cobble-stone: as the strata of stone here is limestone, the granite must have been gathered on the surrounding surface, and the cobble must have been brought from some distance. At about the distance of 100 yards from the turn at the south end, on the outside, was a circle about 18 feet in diameter of similar stones, each about $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards in diameter, and in the centre thereof was one about $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards high from the surface of the ground that tapered to a point. This has also been destroyed since the inclosure of the common. The distance of the stones in the lines was 8, 10, or 12 yards; but at the turn at the south end, which remains perfect, they are something nearer, being from 3 to 8 yards. The distance between each line at the south end is 39 feet. This distance seems gradually to have diminished about one yard in every hundred, till it came to a wedge-like point at

the north end, near to the field called Skellaw. In this field called Skellaw, which signifies "the hill of the skulls," is a small tumulus on an eminence, which no doubt is connected with the monument, though it deviates about 190 yards to the north-east from the last stone now remaining; but it is highly probable the stones were continued a little further northward. This deviation, however, may be accounted for from the eligibility of the situation for prospect, as from this spot the tumulus at the south end could be seen, and nearly the whole line of the monument. A few years ago a countryman, wanting stones for the highway, dug into this tumulus, thinking to find stone; but not finding the appearance of any, he soon desisted. In his attempt, however, he found human bones.

When the antiquary now views the remains of this remarkable monument, he cannot but regret at what, perhaps, he may call the barbarous treatment it has met with. The southern end, which extended about half a mile on the common, had both rows tolerably perfect till the enclosure of the common in 1815; since then these stones have nearly all been blasted and removed into the walls, excepting fourteen, which compose the turn at the south end, which are on a plot of land allotted to the Earl of Lonsdale, and which he has given orders to be preserved. The northern end, for nearly the length of a mile, lying among old enclosed and arable land, had generally been removed at former periods before the recollection of any person now living. There are, however, four on a piece of land, which cannot be tilled for limestone rock, which seem to form the terminating point, or at least a part of it, at the north end. They are respectively 11, 25, and 20 yards distant from each other. Probably two may have been removed from among these, as the two latter distances seem to admit of such a supposition. Between those four and the fourteen at the south end only fifteen now remain in their original position. They are left here and there, and serve as a sort of guide to trace the course of the monument. The blasted and broken fragments of the others may be seen in the walls adjoining. One of the most prominent that remains is called Guggleby stone, which formed part of the west line, and stands on its small end near the footpath leading to the village of Keld. It is 8 feet high, and 37 feet in girth at its middle. The stone next remaining north of it, which formed part of the east line, is about 13 feet long and 6 feet in diameter. But it is a different kind of stone to all the rest; this is basalt or whinstone, and all the others are granite. This stone probably once was placed upon its end, for one end seems to have been squared with a chisel, and it has the appearance of having been overturned by digging limestone from beneath it. In the middle of the part squared is a hole 4 inches over and 2 inches deep; about 2 feet therefrom, on a sloping corner, is another hole of about the same size. On one of the corners at the other end is a rude circle,

8 inches across, and a shallow hole in the centre. By minute examination other inscriptions of this kind, perhaps, might be found here, as on the obelisks at Aubrey described by Dr. Stukeley.

These masses of granite were, no doubt, originally from Wastdale, which is about two miles from the south end of the monument, for here a bed of similar granite is found, the only bed, I believe, in Westmoreland. It is remarkable that, for the distance of three miles eastward from the low end of Wastdale, an immense quantity of rounded worn-like granite stones of all sizes, up to 4 yards in diameter, are found scattered over the face of the country to the above distance or further, which is wholly of a limestone and freestone strata. They seem to be spread in a fan-like form from Wastdale, and are more thinly scattered, and also of smaller size, as the distance increases. These primary stones being found on the surface of secondary ones demonstrate that they have thus been thrown by some convulsion in nature of which we have no record; or, according to Professor Buckland, in his "*Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*" on similar appearances, they have thus been transported and drifted by a diluvial current. He, indeed, supposes that a diluvial current is the only adequate cause that can account for these appearances. See also *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1823, No. 77.

Whether the stones which compose the Carl Lofts were brought direct from Wastdale, or whether they were gathered from among the scattered ones, can only now be matter of conjecture; but probably they were some of the scattered ones, as they might be found nearer for carriage and already detached. But how such immense blocks (several being from 3 to 4 yards in diameter) could be carried and placed in the regular manner they were it is difficult to form an idea.

GEORGE HALL.

Celtic Temple at Shap, in Westmoreland.

[1833, *Part I.*, p. 4.]

In the "*Reliquiæ Galeanæ*," p. 387, is the subjoined interesting passage, in a letter dated Stamford, September 24, 1743, from Dr. Stukeley to Mr. Gale:—

"I have got a vast drawing and admeasurement, from Mr. Routh, of Carlisle, of the stones at Shap" (in Westmoreland), "which I desired from him. They give me so much satisfaction that verily I shall call on you next year to take another religious pilgrimage with me thither. I find it to be, what I always supposed, another huge serpentine temple, like that of Avebury. The measure of what are left extends a mile and a half; but, without a doubt, a great deal of it has been demolished by the town, abbey, and everything else thereabouts."

I send you the above for insertion in your magazine, with the hope

that some of your correspondents may be able to inform you whether the drawing and plan which it mentions were ever published or not; if they were, in what work? and if not—whether they exist, and where?

The inclosure of Shap Fell made sad havoc in the temple. Traces of it, however, still exist, and the recovery of Mr. Routh's plans might go far to find out its original form, and throw much light upon the history of the neighbourhood, which abounds in Druidical remains.

Dr. Stukeley is certainly right in calling the whole collection of stones a temple. It is not, as has been commonly and idly conjectured, a Danish monument. Similar works abound in parts of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, where the Danes never settled. Neither is there any evidence, or probable ground of conjecture, that the Danes ever erected any such monuments of their victories in Britain as this. They were too intent upon plunder and securing their conquests, to have either time or inclination to get up monuments of their glory.

It is a remarkable feature of Westmoreland and Cumberland, that their uncultivated hills and plains are scattered all over with Druidical remains; while in Northumberland and Durham, which adjoin them on the east, scarcely anything of the kind exists. There is, indeed, good historical evidence to show that Cumberland and Westmoreland were inhabited by the Celtic race, called Cumbri, or Cimmerii, for several centuries after the Romans left Britain; whereas the eastern shores of the island, in Northumberland and Durham, were inhabited by German tribes before the Roman era. The rude masses of stone, of which the temple is made, consist chiefly of the granite and grauwacke, which abound in the mountains to the west of Shap. They are all diluvial; and immense numbers of similar sorts of blocks are found all over the hills about Shap and Orton, and as far east as about Appleby and Brough. Some blocks of the Wastdale granite (a district to the south-west of Shap) are even left upon the bare limestone strata on Stanemore; one lies as a curiosity in the streets of Darlington; and rounded fragments of the same kind are often found. [See Note 8.]

Stonehenge.

[1823, *Part I.*, pp. 127-130.]

“Thou noblest monument of Albion's isle,
Whether by Merlin's aid, from Scythia's shore,
To Amber's fatal plain, Pendragon bore,
Huge frame of giant hands the mighty pile,
T' entomb his Britons slain by Henguist's guile,
Or Druid Priests, sprinkled with human gore,
Taught 'mid thy massy maze their mystic lore;
Or Danish chiefs, enriched with savage spoil,

To Victory's idol vast, an unhewn shrine,
 Rear'd the rude heap ; or in thy hallow'd round,
 Repose the kings of Brutus' genuine line ;
 Or here those kings in solemn state were crown'd.
 Studious to trace thy pond'rous origin,
 We muse on many an ancient tale renown'd."

As the subject for the Newdigate Prize Poem for this year is "Stonehenge," we shall, at the request of an Oxford correspondent, devote a page or two to the consideration of the probable origin and purposes of this extraordinary monument.

This interesting assemblage of stones is distant 2 miles west of Amesbury, and 6 miles from Salisbury. The name of Stonehenge is evidently Saxon, *q. d. the hanging-stones.*

Passing by the fanciful opinions and conjectures of Nennius, Jeffrey of Monmouth, and Henry of Huntingdon (alluded to in the above elegant sonnet), we shall first notice the celebrated Camden, who could see nothing but confusion and rudeness in this stately pile.

Inigo Jones (who in 1655 first published any regular work on Stonehenge), full of ideas of architecture, conceived it to be a Tuscan temple of Cælum or Terminus, built by the Romans, as if the rudest monuments of that people were not more regular than this. He thought it was raised at a period when the Romans "had settled the country under their own empire ; and by the introduction of foreign colonies, had reduced the natural inhabitants unto the society of civil life, by training them up in the liberal sciences."

Dr. Charleton, in 1663, published an answer to Jones's work, in which he contends that Stonehenge was erected by the Danes ; but this could not be the case, as the monument existed long before the Danes invaded England. Jones's work was defended by his son-in-law and editor, Mr. Webb, in 1665.

Aylett Summers next published a treatise on Stonehenge ; in which he remarks : " Why may not these giants (alluding to the appellation of "Chorea Gigantum," given to this monument) be the Phœnicians ; and the art of erecting these stones, instead of the stones themselves, brought from the furthestmost parts of Africa, the known habitations of the Phœnicians ?"

Bishop Gibson, in his edition of "Camden's Britannia," 1694, after combating the opinions of preceding writers, observes : " One need make no scruple to affirm that it is a British monument, since it does not appear that any other nation had so much footing in this kingdom, as to be the authors of such a rude, and yet magnificent pile."

The attentive though credulous Aubrey first hit on the notion of its being a Druid temple. With this notion Mr. Toland agreed ; and Dr. Stukeley, in his "Stonehenge," by accurate admeasurements confirmed it. He calls in the assistance of the Tyrean Hercules, to do greater honour to the structure.

Mr. Wood, in his "Choir Gawr," agreed with Dr. Stukeley in attributing it to the Druids, with this additional idea, that it had an astronomical as well as theological use, and was a temple of the moon.

William Cooke, M.A., in an enquiry into the Patriarchal and Druidical religion, etc., supposes Stonehenge to have been a place held sacred by the Druids, and appropriated to great assemblies of the people.

Wood's opinion was further illustrated in a brief and comprehensive manner by Dr. Smith, in "Choir Gawr," 1770. The work is ably reviewed by Mr. Gough, in our vol. xli., p. 30 [See Note 9], where Dr. Smith's opinions may be seen; or in Gough's "Camden," 2nd edit., 1806, vol. i., p. 155.

That eminent antiquary, Mr. King, in his "Munimenta Antiqua,"* conjectures that it was constructed in the very latest ages of Druidism, whilst that religion was yet struggling against the overwhelming tide of Christianity.

Mr. Davies, the learned author of "Celtic Researches," and of the "Mythology, etc., of the British Druids," enters more profoundly than perhaps any other author into the question respecting the origin and appropriation of Stonehenge. He supposes that this structure, and Silbury Hill, are two of the three works alluded to in a Welsh Triad, as constituting the greatest labours of the Island of Britain: *i.e.*, "lifting the stone of Ketti;—building the work of Emrys; and piling the Mount of the Assemblies." That Stonehenge is really a Druidical structure, the same learned writer further remarks, "is evident from the language in which it was described, and the great veneration in which it was held by the primitive bards; those immediate descendants and avowed disciples of the British Druids. As the great sanctuary of the Dominion, or metropolitan temple of our heathen ancestors, so complex in its plan, and constructed upon such a multitude of astronomical calculations, we find it was not exclusively dedicated to the sun, the moon, Saturn, or any other individual object of superstition; but it was a kind of Pantheon, in which all the Arkite and Sabine divinities of British theology were supposed to have been present; for here we perceive Noe and Hu, the deified patriarch; Elphin and Rheiddin, the sun; Eseye, Isis; Kêd, Ceres, with the cell of her sacred fire; Llywy, Proserpine; Gwyden, Hermes; Budd, Victory, and several others."

As to the precise date of Stonehenge, Mr. Davies says nothing definitely, but remarks it was most likely of later origin than the introduction of the Helio-Arkite superstition, which is traditionally said to have been of foreign growth, and to have come by the way of Cornwall, and therefore probably from the tin merchants.

Its being mentioned by the bard Aneurin, in his poem of

* Reviewed by Mr. Gough in vol. lxxii., p. 142. [See Note 10.]

“Gododin,” as existing previous to the massacre by Hengist, is justly remarked to be a decided evidence of its not having been erected to commemorate that event, “but that, on the contrary, it was a monument of venerable antiquity in the days of Hengist; and that its peculiar sanctity influenced the selection of the spot for the place of conference between the British and Saxon princes. It is equally clear that the sacred building did not receive its name of Gwaith Emrys from Emrys or Ambrosius, a prince who fought with Hengist; but that, on the other hand, it communicates to him its own name, as he was president and defender of the Ambrosial Stones.”

This learned writer further mentions a passage in the Greek historian, Diodorus Siculus, describing a round temple dedicated to Apollo, which Mr. Davies concludes to have been situated in Britain, and to have been most likely our monument of Stonehenge.

Mr. Maurice, in his “Indian Antiquities,” forms a similar conclusion from the above passage with Mr. Davies, and further remarks, that in his opinion the Celtic deity, Bel, is identified with Apollo, and says, that the first name of Britain, after it was peopled, was Vel Ynys, or the Island of Bel. He also supposes “that the battle of Hen Velen, mentioned in the song of the bard Taliesin, alludes to one fought near Stonehenge. The massacre of the Britons in that neighbourhood is frequently alluded to by the Welsh bards. In Song XII. of the Gododin, by Aneurin, we find the stone *cell of the sacred fire* noticed; and in Song XV. we find also *the great stone fence of the common sanctuary*. In the song of another Welsh bard, Cuthelin, we also find allusions made to Stonehenge, in the words “Mawd, Cor Cyvoeth,” the great circle, or “sanctuary of the dominion.”

Sir Richard Colt Hoare* coincides entirely with the opinions of Mr. Davies, from whom he has clearly derived the etymology of the word Ambresbury. Its high antiquity, he adds, is corroborated by the fact that many of the barrows around must have been formed subsequently to the temple, though probably before the arrival of the Romans in Britain. He thinks that Stonehenge must have been to the Britains what Mecca is now to the Mahomedans.

The Rev. James Ingram, in his “Inaugural Lecture on the Utility of the Saxon Literature,” has suggested a new idea relative to Stonehenge. He considers it as the “Heathen burial place”; and the *curcus* adjoining, as the Hippodrome on which the goods of the deceased were run for at the time of burial.

Another novel opinion relative to the construction of Stonehenge is advanced by the late Mr. Cunnington, in the History of Ancient Wiltshire. It is grounded on the difference in quality and size between the stones of the great circle and ellipsis, and those of the

* “History of Ancient Wilts,” vol. i., p. 157.

smaller ones. "In considering the subject," says Mr. Cunnington, "I have been led to suppose that Stonehenge has been erected at different eras ; that the original work consisted of the outward circle, and its imposts, and the inner oval, or large trilithons ; and that the smallest circle and oval, of inferior stones, were raised at a later period : for they add nothing to the grandeur of the temple, but rather gave a littleness to the whole, and more particularly so, if, according to Smith, you add the two small trilithons of granite."

The next opinion relative to Stonehenge, we have to notice, is somewhat analogous to the last. It is contained in the following judicious remarks, extracted from a letter of the Rev. Samuel Greatheed, addressed to Mr. Britton, and printed in the "Beauties of England and Wales," vol. xv., p. 707 :

"Stonehenge has nothing about it implying a higher antiquity than the age of Aurelius Ambrosius, but the circle and oval of upright stones, which perfectly resemble our numerous Druidical temples, from Cornwall to Cumberland. These parts alone of the structure, therefore, I consider as Druidical ; and I apprehend that these alone were standing when the Saxons assassinated the British chiefs, assembled with them on that spot, at a Council Feast. No authentic accounts of that period oppose the probability that Ambrosius might erect there a durable monument in memory of his countrymen, and of the cruel treachery of their invaders. Nothing is more likely, than that he would, if he had opportunity, adopt such means of animating the Britons to perseverance in so wearisome a contest ; and certainly nothing could have been better suited to the purpose than such an erection as Stonehenge, which might equally sustain the violence of enemies and the lapse of ages. The zeal of his numerous followers would carry them through the requisite labour. The pattern of the Romans was sufficient to supply the mechanical powers which it demanded, and it is so obvious an imitation of their architecture that Inigo Jones, who had well studied the subject, supposed it to be their performances. The plan was regulated by that of the original Druidical structure, the outer stones of which must have been partly removed, to admit the trilithons ; but would, of course, be replaced. The rough squaring, the continued imposts, and the mortices and tenons by which they are secured to the standards, are not only unlike every work of the Druids, but incompatible with their principles. Add to this the discovery of Roman coins beneath some of the larger stones, implies their position not to have been earlier than the date assigned by the tradition. All other hypotheses on the subject are totally conjectural, and to me they appear as improbable in themselves as they are irreconcilable with each other.

"It is, I believe, agreed by the best lithologists that the larger members of Stonehenge are *sarsens*, similar to those called the Grey-

wethers, which, in innumerable places, protrude above the soil, between Marlborough and Avebury, and therefore were probably transported thence."

Mr. Fosbroke, in his "Encyclopedia of Antiquities," p. 72, is of opinion that the elucidation of Mr. Maurice is the best, and that it is the Temple of the Sun in Britain mentioned by Diodorus. It is (says Mr. M.) circular, as were all temples of the Sun and Vesta. The adytum, or sanctum sanctorum, is oval, representing the mundane egg, after the manner that all those adyta, in which the sacred fire perpetually blazed, was constantly fabricated. The situation is fixed astronomically; the grand entrance, and that of Abury, being placed exactly north-east, as all the gates or portals of the ancient cavern temples were, especially those dedicated to Mithra, *i.e.* the Sun. The number of stones and uprights in the outward circles, making together exactly sixty, plainly alludes to that peculiar and prominent feature of Asiatic astronomy, the sexagenary cycle; while the number of stones forming the minor cycle of the cove, being exactly nineteen, displays to us the famous Metonic, or rather Indian cycle; and that of thirty repeatedly occurring, the celebrated age or generation of the Druids. Further, the temple being uncovered, proves it to have been erected before the age of Zoroaster, 500 years before Christ, who first covered in the Persian temples. Finally the heads and horns of oxen and other animals found buried in the spot, prove that the sanguinary rites, peculiar to the solar superstition, were actually practised within the awful bounds of this hallowed circle. Want of room prevents our quoting further from Mr. Fosbroke's interesting Encyclopedia, we must therefore refer to the work itself (p. 73, etc.) for further observations on Stonehenge, and on Stone Circles in general, as well as on Cromlechs, Rocking Stones, etc., etc.

Some remarks by Mr. Fosbroke on the era of Stonehenge, may be seen in vol. lxxxvi., i., p. 510. [See Note 11.]

Stonehenge has frequently been the subject of discussion in our magazine, and the reader may consult with advantage vol. xxii., pp. 373, 374; lxvi., 648; a good defence of Dr. Stukeley's opinion in vol. xlv., p. 199; Mr. Strutt's observations on Stonehenge, in vol. lxviii., p. 268; Mr. Warner's opinion, in vol. lxxi., p. 916; Mr. Bigland's, vol. lxxx., i., p. 344; and Mr. Marshall's, vol. lxxxviii., i., p. 57. [See Note 12.] A very neat view of Stonehenge, drawn by William Hamper, Esq., F.S.A., is given in vol. lxxvi., p. 600, before the last fall of the stones, in 1797, which fall is noticed in vol. lxvii., p. 75; vol. lxx., p. 1062. Several models of Stonehenge have been made, one of which is deposited in the Museum at Oxford.

A very good large view of Stonehenge, taken in March, 1796, by James Malton, was published in 1800, dedicated to the Society of Antiquaries; but the most complete illustrations of it are the views and plans, so accurately drawn by Mr. P. Crocker, in Sir Richard

Hoare's splendid work on the "Antient History of Wiltshire," which work all who wish to know more of this "Wonder of the West" may advantageously consult.

[1823, *Part I.*, pp. 319, 320.]

To your account of Stonehenge (p. 127), which forms the subject of the Newdigate Prize Poem this year, in the University of Oxford, I will take the liberty of adding, in the spirit of mere literary courtesy more particularly, some remarks of the learned Camden, together with the testimony of Mons. Rapin and Rastell, upon this interesting subject. Though you will not, I find, go with me into the "fanciful conjectures" of Geoffry of Monmouth, etc., which you will perhaps term, in the language of the learned editor of Rastell's *Chronicles*, the Rev. Mr. Dibdin, "repetitions of the floating superstitions of the day," yet you may be induced to agree with the late Mr. Herbert, in his remarks, so far as to allow these accounts to be "curious," and be unwilling to pass over what Rastell mentions with such apparent care.

I have adhered, as much as possible, to the language of these authors, being anxious to lose no part of the force of their several descriptions of this wonderful place, still less to add anything but what stands upon such authority as to extricate me from the accusation of "wildness of conjecture"; and I may I trust say, with the honest chronicler John Selden, "that I have been intent not to go by hearsay, or by common report of people, but have fished for the certainty of this story out of common records, or at least by report of men of worthy credit."

"About six miles from Salisbury," says Camden, "is to be seen a huge and monstrous piece of work, such as Cicero termeth 'Insanam substructionem.' For within the circuit of a ditch there are erected in manner of a crown, in three ranks or courses, one within another, certain mighty and unwrought stones, whereof some are 28 feet high and 7 feet broad; upon the head of which, others, like over-thwart pieces, do bear and rest crosswise with small tenents and mortescis, so as the whole frame seemeth to hang: whereof we call it 'Stonehenge,' like as our old historians termed it, for the greatness 'Chorea Gigantem'—the Giant's Daunce."

Stonehenge was erected, according to Rapin, in the year 473 by Ambrosius Aurelianus, in memory of the 300 Britons who were massacred on the 1st of May by Hengist the Saxon.

Rastell, in his *Chronicles*, speaks of it as follows: "Aurylambrose King of Bryttayn, A.D. 480, was buried at Stonehenge, under the great stone, which stones the Britons say, one Merlin, who was begotten of a woman by the Devil, brought out of Ireland by the craft of magic, which divers men think standeth neither with good faith nor reason. And also the Britons say, that this Merlin told and wrote many prophecies, whereon they greatly rely. But other clerks

and great learned men give little credence to them. And also they say that those stones were never brought out of Ireland by Merlin, but that they were made by craft of men, as of cement and mortar, made of flint stones."

"And what marvel," says Camden, "read we not, I pray you, in Pliny, that the sand or dust of Puteoli being covered over with water, becometh forthwith a very stone?—that the cisterns in Rome of sand, digged out of the ground, and the strongest lime wrought together, grow so hard, that they seem stones indeed?—and that statues and images of marble chippings and small grit grow together so compact and firm that they are deemed entire and solid marble?"

"One reason," continues Rastell, "they allege thereto, because those stones be so hard that no iron tool will cut them without grete bysynes; and also they be of one fashion and bigness, save only there be two sorts, and so most likely to be cast and made in a mould; and that men think it a thing almost impossible to get so many great stones out of any quarry or rock that should be so hard, so equal in bigness and fashion. Another reason, they say, that it is not well possible to have so many great stones to be all of one colour and of one grain throughout and in every place, but that some stone should be more dark of colour in one place or another, or at least have some veins of other colours in them, as great stones of marble and other great stones commonly have. But these stones at Stonehenge be all of one grit, without change of colour, and all of one fashion; therefore many great wise men suppose them to be made of a mortar of flint or other stones."

Camden adds, "I have heard that in the time of King Henry VIII. there was found near this place a table of metal, as it had been tin and lead commixt, inscribed with many letters, but in so strange a character that neither Sir Thomas Elliot nor Master Lilye, schoolmaster of Paul's, could read it, and therefore neglected it. Had it been preserved, somewhat happily might have been discovered as concerning Stonehenge."

It has been justly wondered, says Mons. Rapin in a note, "how stones of twenty or thirty tons could be raised so high as they are; it will not be amiss to give Mr. Rowland's hypothesis in his '*Mona Antiqua*.' Small mounds were thrown up with sloping sides, and level at the top. Up these sides, with great levers and pullies, by little and little, they rolled and heaved up the stones they designed to erect; then laying them along on the top of the hillock, they dug holes in the earth at the end of the stones as deep as the stones were long, into which they let them slip straight on ends, with their tops level with the tops of the mount; then placing other stones upon these, and taking away the earth almost to the bottom of the supporters, there appeared what we call Stonehenge, Rollrich, or Cromlech."

Yours, etc. T. F.

Present State of Stonehenge.

[1831, *Part II.*, pp. 515-520.]

Having visited Stonehenge in a little excursion I lately made, I beg to offer a few observations on that extraordinary edifice.

Most persons who have visited these remains, I believe, remark that they do not impress any idea of grandeur, or produce any imposing effect, when viewed at a distance. This certainly was not the case with me. When I looked down from the brow of the hill on the Amesbury road, these yet magnificent ruins, denoting a circular temple, the distinct parts of which were composed of single massive rocks, impressed on my mind a stupendous work of vast but rude conception.

Having myself conceived a notion that it was a temple, the form of which had reference to celestial objects, and that the sun was probably the object more particularly contemplated by the people who planned and erected it, I was no way dissatisfied with reading the ideas of others on this subject, and not discouraged in this idea on my closer view and inspection of the remains.

I made a close and careful examination, and took measurements of many parts, which I believe are tolerably accurate. The result is to give a different figure to the two interior orders or arrangements of stones; the figures of which are called by Stukeley and others ovals, and by Inigo Jones hexagonals. By my measurements these two orders of the stones stand concentric, or nearly so, with the outer circles; consequently they form a portion of a circle, as far as they extend. They have consisted, first, of an outer set of five pairs of stupendous rocks, with a third placed on, or crowning the top of each pair; two pairs and two single ones remain standing. The standards of each pair are set very close together, but a considerable space or interval occurs between each pair; and in the front or opening north-east a very large space or interval occurs (45 feet), which has no doubt led some people to conclude a sixth* pair was formerly existing; but this was evidently never the case, for the space is filled up or marked with a straight line by the continuation of the inner small order of stones, which give a figure to the two interior orders of a large portion of a circle (or nearly that figure). Taking the diameter of the circle at 52 feet, on the radius† of which the extreme inner angles of the great standards are placed, the intersection at two points on the radius, giving the space of 45 feet between them, will cut off about one-fourth of the circle, and consequently leave three-

* This led Inigo Jones to call the figure hexagonal, and Dr. Smith to imagine there were seven pair of standards; but Stukeley only speaks of ten of these stones, which only make five pair, all of which, standing or prostrate, were in existence July, 1831.

† King, speaking of the figure as oval, says the shortest diameter is about 52 feet.

fourths for the space included within the stones : thus giving a very good form of a theatre, with a front or proscenium, where the straight line is marked by the smaller set or order of stones, to view or look into the interior part. The straight line of the part forming the front, determines the figure, and necessarily precludes the introducing a sixth pair of standards, which, therefore, we may conclude, never were in existence ; there is no vestige of such, and no account, I believe, not even the oldest, detailing any particulars of the form and order of the stones, ever alludes to there having been any.

In support of this notion, that the figure was as stated, the space between the inner corners of the great standards at the front (a pair of which are standing on the east side, and a single one the northernmost on the west) which I measured to be about 45 feet, is, as I have before stated, marked by a straight line of smaller stones from side to side. Of these there are four remaining, one of the small taper kind of stones, and three flattish stones, with spaces just sufficient for two other stones, thus making the number six in all, and forming the line of the proscenium or front. The small inner taper stone is on the east, then there is a space between that and the next, a flat-shaped stone, for a similar shaped stone. The three remaining flattish stones come next in a line, at about equal distances from each other, and in a line with the small taper stone and the anterior side of the remaining upright standard on the north, with space between the flattish stone nearest that side and such remaining standard, for a small taper inner stone.

The form of the theatre or inner compartment would, according to what can be designed from the remains of these interior orders or arrangements, be represented by the annexed sketch.

To confirm this idea, there are two other flattish, dark-coloured, and very hard stones, like flinty slate (forming part of the line of the second or small circle of stones), which stand in a line with the stones at the entrance in the outer circle, and the two central flattish stones of the front of the theatre, which seem to mark the line of approach or entrance into the theatre.

Much has been observed by writers as to the altar-stone, and in the course of my examination I directed my attention to this subject. I was much surprised to find, after what I had read, that instead of one stone (that underlying the greater fallen standard at the back and the impost), there is another, as similar as it is possible, and of the same quality of stone, but rather darker, lying close by it, as if thrown down at the same period.

The stone* I allude to lies obliquely, with one end covered in the earth, at the south-east, and in front of the large leaning standard at

* This stone is shown in Wood's ground-plan of Stonehenge ; but the size is not correctly or proportionably given, and the corner or end under the earth is marked so as to appear as if broken off.

the back of the theatre, which hangs over it, and lies in fact between the southern end of the large fallen impost of the back pair of standards and the small taper inner stone, on which the great leaning standard apparently rests. This stone I measured, and found its dimensions corresponding with the stone called the altar, the part covered being added to that exposed. The measurements of these stones I made less than Mr. Webb's account stated in Stukeley. Time may have diminished their size, but my measurements correspond with the proportions in Wood's plan.

The stone called the altar, according to my note, is rather better than 4 yards long and 1 wide, and half a yard thick. The other I have alluded to was nearly the same, that is, $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards uncovered, and as far as I could thrust my stick under the earth I felt the stone; I may safely add half a yard more for this. The breadth and thickness corresponded with the stone called the altar. Both stones evidently lie out of place, but the fair supposition is, the one being underneath the fallen standard and impost, and the other close by them, that they are near the original site, and have been thrown down at the same time, from their lying next and under the great standards at the back; that this is the case, there can I think be no doubt.

It will be seen, from there being two stones as just described, the idea of the stone under the great standard and impost being the altar, and that it laid flat, and has not been disturbed from its original position in the edifice, cannot be right. That it formed part of the altar is probable, and I beg leave to offer this conjecture. There being a pair of stones, as before described, evidently lying as they were first prostrated, they formed two uprights in front of the two inner upright taper stones of the inner order, and in front of the two great standards, and marked the place at the foot of which the victims of sacrifice were immolated; and let it be observed that there is a little impost lying to the east towards the entrance, between the outer circle of stones and the two interior orders; this small impost is of such inferior dimensions to all the other remaining imposts which could ever have formed imposts, either to the outer circle or those of the great inner standards, that it could not have been one of them.

The dimensions of this small impost are 1 yard, wanting an inch, between the inner edges of the mortices, which are scooped or formed more circularly than the mortices of the other imposts appear to be. The mortices of this small impost are nearly 1 foot wide at the mouth or opening, and about 1 foot or 18 inches within the extremities of the stone; so that these dimensions would give a length of from 7 to 8 feet. Now if these two stones I have just alluded to as the altar were set upright and near together, as each pair of standards are, this little stone would just reach over both, and

form a crown or impost to them ; and make a corresponding form or figure for an altar, similar to the great standards, but very inferior in size. The little impost is of a hard compact sandstone, of the same kind with the large upright stones or standards, while the two stones alluded to are of the dark kind. It might be worth while to examine the end of the two stones, as a tenon or trace of such might be found, and if it were it would confirm this conjecture. I imagine the prostrate stone lying obliquely, and near the leaning standard, to have fallen outward ; and, if so, a tenon may be discovered at the end, concealed under the earth. If this little impost is not that of these two stones, then I cannot conceive in what other part of the structure it could have had a place. It is too short to leave a space wide enough between the supporters to pass under, and there appears nothing corresponding in the whole place, or in what can be collected from the remnants, to assign it a place, or call for its use otherwise than as an impost at the altar. To account for its lying apart from the back of the theatre, or where the two stones are lying, the smallness of its size would render it more easily moved than the two stones, its supposed supporters. If the desecration of the temple was begun by human hands, of which in my mind there is no doubt, the altar or place of sacrifice, as the most sacred part, would be that to which most attention would be directed ; and having thrown down the altar, the spoilers would attempt to take away the small impost or crown, though its great size stopped their purpose.

In the spirit of religious zeal, when Christianity began to be introduced, and gained ascendancy, I conceive this temple might have been an object of vengeance, and it is probable that the first part of the destruction (whatever time may since have contributed) was the hand of man, directed by some impulse of viewing it as an abomination ; and it is possible to conceive, that after the altar was prostrated, when the first great fallen stone of the standard and its enormous impost was overthrown, these remains would be left in the state in which they have been recognised for ages.

I noted the small inner taper stone, on which the great standard at the back leans or rests, as having a groove from top to base. It is too regular not to be artificial, and to assign it a use, I suppose it might serve to lodge a pole or ensign, perhaps the staff of the chief Druid, that might be fastened by passing a string or thong round the stone ; and hence an idea arises, that the smaller taper stones might serve to bind or fasten the victims, either of prisoners or cattle, to be offered for sacrifice. There can be little doubt but they are sunk very deep, and firmly fixed in the chalk soil. I also noted that in the second circle, among the taper stones, there appeared some flattish stones, some of which are in a line with the entrance I have before noticed ; but there was another at the south, near or under one of the large outer stones that was thrown down or broken. The dark

stones appear of two kinds ; one I believe called a grunstein, and the other a kind of flinty slate. The small stones, in general, appeared of the sandstone kind.

Of the two outlying stones in what is called the avenue of approach, if there were not corresponding standards to make pairs and bear impost, which I think was not the case, as there are no remaining signs of such construction—then, as we must assign a meaning for what we do find to be in existence in all relics of this kind, it is reasonable to suppose that these two stones marked the line of approach ; for, standing at the most distant stone, the bearings of its north-west side and the side of the prostrate stone just strike the north-western side or edge of the stone at the eastern side of the entrance. That some mark or notice of the proper entrance was requisite, is evident. When we reflect on the nature of the structure, that it was circular, composed of a course of upright stones similar to one another, with nearly the same intervals between each, it would be difficult to distinguish the small difference of the interval assigned for the entrance ; and it is rational to suppose these stones were planted to direct the passenger. One stone would not serve to point direct with sufficient certainty, therefore two were assigned, to serve as pointers to the proper entrance. The fallen stone has doubtless been once upright ; this being the position of all the stones of the structure ; those now prostrate in the temple being evidently disturbed from their sites. The soil raised about this stone, which gives the appearance of a kind of vallum or ditch, I consider has arisen from the removal, at some period or other, of the soil accumulated on the stone in its fallen state. . . . [The remainder of the paper is occupied by “conjectures on the temple.”] G. G. V.

P.S. Since the above was written, during the high winds that of late have prevailed, one of the western standards has been blown down. [See Note 13.]

Present State of Abury, Wilts.

[1829, Part II., pp. 1-7.]

I fear there is little feeling, where most one would wish to find it, of the spirit of those lines with which Sir R. C. Hoare concludes his account of the stupendous remains at Abury [*Anc. Wilts*, vol. ii., p. 89]:

“ Ne cuiquam glebam saxumve impunè movere
Ulli sit licitum ! Parcarum namque severæ
Pœnæ instant ; si quis sacrâ scelus edat in æde :
Finitimi agricolæ, et vicini attendite cuncti !
Hic fundus sacer esto !”

and that his forebodings that the day is not distant when the anti-
quary shall resort to this place, and hear of its famous temple but as

of a thing which once was, may even be accomplished in the present generation.

With your permission I will relate what I learned on a visit yesterday; and will add a few observations made on a first personal inspection of these remains, which may be regarded as supplementary to the admirable accounts which have been given of them.

The temple at Abury, as few need to be informed, consists of a level area, nearly circular, enclosed by a deep trench and lofty mound. The mound is now broken down in four places, where roads are carried through it. But in its original state there seem to have been only two breaks, the only entrances to the area, and these were at the nearer extremities of two roads or avenues of more than a mile in length, and not quite straight, on each side of which were set rows of large and lofty stones, in number 100—that is, 400 stones in all. These avenues are called the Kennet Avenue and the Beckhampton Avenue, from the names of two villages near the commencement of them. Scarcely any stones belonging to these avenues remain, and of a circle at the extremity of one of them not a fragment is now to be found. We know of them chiefly from the information of Aubrey and Stukeley, who saw the work when much more entire than at present. The area within the mound has been very accurately measured by Sir Richard Hoare, and it is found to be somewhat more than 28 acres. Accompanying the ditch, which, being within the mound, affords a proof, as has been observed, that it could have been no place of defence, and near the outer edge of the area, was a circle of stones, in form and size resembling those of the avenues. Of these there were just 100, and these form what is called the great or the outer circle. Within this circle were two small temples, or, if we may regard the whole works but as one vast temple, two apartments. Each of these consisted of two concentric circles, composed of stones like the others, the outer circle consisting of 30 stones, the inner of 12. In the centre of one of these, which is called the Southern Temple, from its position in respect of the other, was one single stone, which Stukeley calls the Obelisk. In the centre of the other temple were three stones standing higher than the rest, placed near together, and so as to form a small cove or cell. Stukeley mentions another stone, in which he observed a perforation, not belonging to either of the inner temples, and this he concluded to have been set for the purpose of securing the victim till the moment of sacrifice arrived.

Such was Abury when it was entire. Before the Norman Conquest a Christian church was erected, a little without the mound, on the western side. There is nothing to show when it was erected, but it is mentioned as existing in Domesday Book. It is worthy of notice that the church was not erected within the enclosure, which would seem to have been its natural position: and perhaps it may be inferred from that circumstance that the persons who erected the

church did not contemplate the destruction of the fabric of the older temple, and intended to raise the Christian edifice on the ruins of one which had (probably) been used in Pagan superstitions. Some portions of the fabric of the present church appear to have belonged to the original edifice, proving that the present church is on the site originally chosen by Saxon piety.

Another circumstance worthy of notice in the Domesday account of Abury is that it was *Terra Regis*, and that the only land in cultivation about it was two hides attached to the church, which was held by one Rainbold the Priest. He had the church of Pewsey also. But at Pewsey we find there was a lay-manor also, while no other manor is noticed at Abury, but that of the church held immediately of the King. There was probably some reason why the Crown reserved its rights here; and that there was no manor but the manor of the church may I think be taken as proof of a very early foundation of a Saxon church here, and that the erection of a church preceded the erection of any dwellings. Perhaps at the beginning it was a *Felb-cýrc*, intended for the use of the shepherds and the few inhabitants dispersed over the plain from the borders of Bishop's Cannings to the borders of Marlborough, and to a great extent to the northward and southward. It must have been erected by some person of eminent rank, perhaps a Saxon sovereign, and not merely (as most of the country churches were) by some lord of the soil living there, that he might have the offices of religion brought home to the doors of himself and his vassals.

Abury remained a place peculiarly ecclesiastical till the Reformation. Rainbold doubtless held his two hides here only in right of his church, and they would descend not to his heirs but to his successors. A foreign house, the Benedictines of St. George of Bocherville, was placed in the reign of Henry I. in the position in which Rainbold stood.* The gift of the church was by William de Tankerville, a person to whom the Crown must have conveyed its right soon after the date of Domesday, and of whom it may be conjectured that he had never any intention of changing the ecclesiastical character of Abury. The foreign house retained possession of Abury till the time of Richard II., in which reign many of the foreign houses were deprived of their English possessions. The patronage and protection of Abury and its curious remains were then committed, first to New College, Oxford, and then to the College of Fotheringay; and it was not till the 2 Edward VI. that any private person had power over this temple to pull down and to destroy.†

* See Britton's "*Beauties of Wiltshire*," vol. iii., p. 270.

† The Roman camp, called Templeborough, in Yorkshire, was the property of the Minster of Roche; and perhaps it might be found that care was taken by our ancestors for the preservation of curious remains by keeping them out of private hands in the original distribution of property. I should like to see this point further illustrated.

In the interval between the Conquest and the Reformation, the temple at Abury being under the protection of these communities, perhaps suffered but little from dilapidation. If any Court Rolls of the ecclesiastical manor now exist, they should be carefully examined; and I make no doubt that much very interesting matter might be collected from them. If they contained no notices of grants to the tenants of portions of the stones, or of land within the area, they would at least show the number of freeholders, and perhaps of other tenants, and a guess might be made at the population which had collected round the church in the middle ages of our history. I suspect that it was very small, and that the extension of the village within the bounds of the enclosure has been the work of the three last centuries. It is manifest that many of the houses are recent erections: some of them are certainly on new sites, and even those which are supposed to be re-edifications may be on sites not more than two or three centuries old. The church is now at the extremity of the town furthest from the temple.

It has been the extension of this "vile hamlet," if I may venture to borrow this expression from one of the indignant letters of Chatterton, that has proved, and is still proving, the ruin of the temple of Abury. For some centuries past, whenever stone has been wanted, whether to build houses or walls, or to pave the roads, the temple was the ready quarry to which everyone had recourse; and within the last two years, three, if not four, of the few remaining stones have been broken up, and used for no other purpose but to form a kind of wall to keep up the earth on the right hand side of the road to Swinden.

I first entered the town over the fields from Beckhampton. I saw one or two stones of the Beckhampton avenue as I approached the church, but nothing of the temple itself, and the first feeling was something of disappointment; for the idea I had formed of the place was, that it was a village among stones, here a cottage, and there a stone peering upwards high as the roof of the cottage; and that the first grand features of the place would be, that a number of cottagers had built their huts in a magnificent Stonehenge. The church, and the four houses near it, one of which is a handsome old hall, with garden and extensive outhouses, appear little different from an ordinary country village; but proceeding onward the mound becomes very conspicuous, and seems to promise something extraordinary.

I would, however, rather recommend to any one who should visit Abury, to approach it, as I afterwards did, by the road from Marlborough, which nearly corresponds with the line of the Kennet avenue, and enters the sacred enclosure by the original opening out of that avenue. As we approach along that road, a large piece of the mound presents itself upon us, bending towards the north, over which may just be discerned the ridges of one or two of the houses

built within. The mound, which sweeps to the south, though equally bold and elevated, is hardly in sight. At a distance, the pinnacles of the church tower are seen rising above the trees, which here, as in most of the villages on the Wiltshire Downs, are thickly planted amongst the houses. In the foreground is seen, still erect, one of the stones which formed the Kennet avenue, standing on the left of the road, encrusted with dark brown, grey, and ochry lichens.

Close to this stone, and at the point where meet the roads from Marlborough and from Beckhampton, close also to the entrance within the inclosure, stands a toll-bar house. On entering the inclosure, four of the stones, still erect, immediately present themselves, and they appear to stand at the angular points of a square. This, however, is soon found to be a deception, for on going up to them, the two nearest to the mound are found to stand near each other, and the other two at a considerable distance. Those nearest to the mound belonged to the great, or outer circle. They may be called flat-stones; being in breadth about 5 yards, and in thickness about 1 yard. They stand edge to edge, that is, with the flat sides towards the interior, and towards the mound, and the curve in which they stand appears to correspond, as exactly as in so rude a work could be expected, with the curve of the ditch and mound. The interstice between them, or what we may call the inter-columniation of the outer circle, is about $8\frac{1}{2}$ yards. I had no means of making an exact measurement; but this corresponds well with Stukeley's account of the number of stones in the outer circle; and perhaps a more accurate admeasurement of the space occupied by these two stones would afford decisive evidence of the accuracy of Stukeley's report, that the number of stones in this circle was exactly 100.

Advancing toward the other uprights, we see before us several of the houses which compose that part of the village which is within the enclosure. We find that these uprights are flat stones of nearly the same height and size with those in the outer circle, and like them standing edge to edge. We discover also three other stones, which have evidently once belonged to the same arrangement with those which remain in their original position, but which are lying prostrate on the ground; and these five stones have evidently been five adjacent stones of the outer circle of the Southern Temple. Not that it could be fairly inferred from the present appearance that there was once a double circle and a central pillar: for of the pillars and the inner circle not a vestige remains, and these five are all that remain of the outer circle of this Southern Temple. But the curvature (though on a first view, when they are seen from the ground by which I approached them, it appears to be rather that of the flat side of a very long ellipse) is soon found to be of a circle of no very great diameter.

All these remain in the state in which they were seen by Sir Richard Hoare in 1812.

Enter the town, and turn to the right along the principal street, all within the inclosure, till we arrive at an opening through the mound, the road being continued towards the moor. From the opening by which we enter, to this opening, the mound is entire. Sycamores and ashes have been planted on portions of it. At this extremity one or two stones belonging to the outer circle remain. On entering the field, of which the next portion of the mound is the boundary, two uprights of the outer circle immediately present themselves, like the former, and still conforming to the curvature of the mound; and on advancing a little further, two others belonging to the same circle are in sight. We also soon perceive two belonging to an inner circle, and on approaching these a most interesting sight presents itself; two uprights, taller than the rest, and standing much nearer together, at an angle of about 110 degrees. These are two of the three stones which formed the cove or cell of the Northern Temple. Their very appearance shows that they were originally something different from the rest. These have lately been placed in very imminent peril. The two just before mentioned belonged to the circles by which the cove was surrounded; but in 1812, there were *four* of them, and it is only within the last two years that this number has been reduced. I saw the man who destroyed them. He was a labourer employed on Mr. Naldy's farm, and it was by Mr. Naldy's orders that they were broken to pieces. The reason was that they stood inconveniently to him in his husbandry arrangements; but this reason would press quite as strongly against the two cove-stones, for they stand in the midst of his hay-ricks, and may perhaps occasion some little inconvenience in the piling up or taking down the produce of the farm.

But beside the destruction of two uprights, the same person acknowledged to having broken to pieces one which had fallen; and another person in the village told me that *two* of the prostrate stones, besides the two uprights, had lately been broken to pieces by tenants of Mr. Thring of Wilton, of whom Mr. Naldy was one. It was added that the tenant had received permission from the owner; but this may be a mistake. Such an unparalleled remain may be in little esteem with

“The dull swain,
Who treads on it daily, with his clouted shoon :”

—but something better may be expected where the proprietorship resides.

There is, however, no replacing them as the Rocking-stone was replaced; for they were broken to pieces, and the new wall on the Swinden road is composed of the fragments.

The labourer employed in the work told me that the earth had been examined to the depth of a yard or more, at the foot of the cove-stones, to see if there were any evidences of sacrifices having been performed there, but nothing peculiar was observed.

The road to Swinden is cut through the mound, and at the point of intersection one of the stones of the great circle is seen, and a little beyond it others. But here the mound is thickly planted and enclosed, so that there is not the means of walking along it, and so continues till we arrive at the next opening, which was the outlet towards the Beckhampton avenue. The remaining part of the mound, namely, that between the avenue gates, is in fine preservation, very bold and elevated; one or two stones of the outer circle are seen below, and from this part and this only, there is a view of Silbury Hill to the south, the apex of which is above the line of the distant horizon, and of Tan Hill, a natural elevation in the distance.

One or two observations more I must beg permission to make.

The common people of Abury uniformly call these stones "sazzen-stones." This orthography more correctly represents the sound than *Sarsen-stones*, which occurs in the "Ancient Wiltshire"; but whether the term is applied exclusively to these, or is common to blocks of stone like these but in their native beds, I cannot say. . . . [The remainder of the article is speculative.]

JOSEPH HUNTER.

Stonehenge and Abury.

[1866, *Part II.*, pp. 68-70.]

I have long held the opinion that much light could be thrown upon the meaning and object of our Wiltshire megalithic temples—Stonehenge and Abury—by a careful study of their ground-plan; and in fact, that the ground-plans of these temples present figures traced upon the turf by ranks of stones, similar in outline to figures which occur elsewhere carved on stone.

The symbols represented by Abury consist, or rather consisted, of a snake—a large circle and two smaller concentric inner circles, all of which are Buddhistic emblems—the double circles forming one of the symbols of the *Pra-Pattha*, or divine footprint of Buddha, and indicating the power he possesses to punish the wicked in both worlds. Similar forms, the snake and the concentric circles, occur upon those sculptured stones in Scotland which have been connected by some writers with the worship of Buddha at a remote period in that country. Indeed, upon one monolith, that associated with the Newton Stone (Aberdeenshire), the very ground-plan of our temple at Abury is delineated with but slight variation.

Silbury Hill may have been reared as a huge lingam, and was, perhaps, to the rest of the temple what these sculptured stones themselves were to the figures carved upon their surface, for the whole plan of Abury is upon such a gigantic scale that even such an enormous monolith as that at Lockmariaker would have been dwarfed by the magnitude of the other details.

There is at Abury a flat ledge, or path, about 12 feet wide, which

projects from the vallum about midway between it and the ditch ; this path, it has been suggested, formed a seat for spectators during the celebration of religious rites. But as the only form of worship observed by the Buddhists of Bhotan is a mere solemn slow trampling or stamping with their feet a certain number of times in exactly the same line around the shrine of Buddha, whilst the Lamas of Thibet consider that their ceremonial circumambulation of holy places must be performed in a smooth even line, the least deviation from which would vitiate their devotion and destroy its merit, as this is so, may not the path at Abury also have served for some kind of sacred circumambulation ?

The emblems at Stonehenge, as regards their ground-plan, consist of a horseshoe within a circle. These emblems are each represented twice ; once in monoliths of primary rock, and once in trilithons of tertiary sandstone (sarsens). The horseshoe is still the conventional figure for the yoni in modern Hindoo temples, and although its original import was lost, yet, until lately, the horseshoe was held to be a charm against witchcraft and the evil eye amongst ourselves, precisely as was the case with the more unmistakable Shelah-na-Gig at certain churches in Ireland.

Aubrey states (upon the authority of Philip, Earl of Pembroke) that a stone was carried away to St. James's from the centre of Stonehenge. Could this have been the sacred monolith (lingam), the Silbury Hill of Stonehenge ? This feature alone is wanting to render the ground-plan of Stonehenge an exact counterpart of that of modern ling-yoni temples of the Buddhists.

Colonel Forbes Leslie ("Early Races of Scotland") points out that in the *Dekkan* circular monolithic temples exist, still used for the worship of Vetal, the relative positions of certain stones in which agree in a remarkable manner with those at Stonehenge ; thus the monolith known as the "Friar's Heel," at Stonehenge, which stands *outside* the circle, and to the east of it, has its counterpart in these temples. The resemblance may be traced also in the central group of trilithons at Stonehenge facing the east, with three lesser stones placed immediately *in front of them*, and *inside the circle*. In the description given by Colonel Forbes Leslie of a temple near Poonah, the principal group of monoliths is said to face the east, and to have *in front of them*, and *inside the circle*, three stones of lesser size. The same author mentions a temple on the table-land of the Ghauts, in the Mahratta country, in which the stones present that general obelisk form which is borne by the monoliths at Stonehenge, and particularly by those forming the inner horseshoe there. The avenue at Stonehenge is from the east, and is bounded by banks of earth ; in the Indian temple last named, two avenues of stone lead up to it from the east. It may also be added that the stone of entrance at Abury is placed at the east of the great circle.

Both Abury and Stonehenge were probably connected with that primitive or priapian form of worship which appears to have been co-extensive with the migrations of the human race—a form of worship which existed among all the nations of antiquity with which we are acquainted, which was transmitted to mediæval times, is still rampant as in the worship of Siva at Benares, or lingers on in the wearing of amulets and the like, as in Italy at the present day. Traces of this form of the worship of the creative power of nature, of a more or less degraded character, crop out in the New no less than in the Old World, may be found existing in scattered islands, or wherever man has set his foot.

I do not venture to assign the period of the construction of Stonehenge and Abury to a stone, a bronze, or an iron age. It does not, however, necessarily follow, because the monoliths at Abury are *unwrought*, that therefore the *wrought* stone temple of Stonehenge must have been erected at a later ethnological period, or by a people who possessed tools of harder material and of better construction.

As a modern instance that people unacquainted with the use of metal *did* carve the hardest stone, I would mention the well-known "Heitiki" figures of green jade made by the New Zealanders. The sculptured granite of Brittany again proclaims what has been done with stone tools. Take, for example, the immense quantity and the elaborate nature of the carving in the dolmen at Gavrinis, where delineations of stone axes themselves occur; and as bearing upon the subject of the present letter—the serpent, the horseshoe, and the circle. Other dolmens—such as Manné-er-hroëg—when opened, were found to contain numerous stone axes of exquisite workmanship; whilst the granite structures themselves bear the sculptured representations of stone axes. One wedge-shaped axe in its handle, which occurs upon the roofing slab of the Table de César (Lock-mariaker), appeared to me to have been actually traced in outline from the object itself. The carved stone idols at Copan and other places in Central America appear to have been executed without the use of metal. Whilst it is scarcely too much to add that, prior to European influence, America was in its stone and *copper*, rather than in its bronze age; and yet with such tools the hardest stone has been carved into spirited representations of men, animals, and birds by the mound-builders of Ohio; whilst the labour displayed in carving the stone tables found at Chiriqui into the form of animals from the solid block is perfectly astonishing.

The objects from Chiriqui and Ohio which I have named are passing almost daily through my hands; and if these were executed with copper tools, or, at the most, with bronze tools containing but a small percentage of tin, there can be no reason for assigning the construction of Stonehenge to a people acquainted with the use of

iron, because of the supposed impossibility of accomplishing the work with tools of stone or bronze.

I am, etc. EDWARD T. STEVENS.

Avebury and Silbury Hill.

[1866, *Part I.*, pp. 683-686.]

Your readers are probably aware that a controversy has been going on, during several weeks, in the pages of the *Athenæum*, as to the epoch to which Stonehenge, Avebury, and Silbury Hill are to be assigned. It has been maintained by Mr. Fergusson, by whom the discussion was originated, that these remarkable monuments are all of post-Roman date, and were probably created during the fifth or sixth centuries; whilst Sir John Lubbock, who represents the more generally received views of English antiquaries, assigns them all to a pre-Roman period of uncertain date.

I am content, as regards Stonehenge, to accept the arguments of Sir John Lubbock in favour of the antiquity of that celebrated spot, and shall refrain on the present occasion from offering any further remarks in regard to it. But the questions raised by Mr. Fergusson, in respect to Avebury and Silbury Hill, do not seem to me to have received any adequate reply; and as the subject appears to demand longer and more complete notice than the narrow space of the columns of the *Athenæum* will allow, I am desirous to place on record in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* some remarks in regard to it. [See Note 14.]

With many others in this county, I have followed the discussion with great interest. Sir John Lubbock appears to me to have met the most important points of Mr. Fergusson's argument: though something still seems to be expected from those who live near the remarkable sites which form the subject of controversy. Professor Tyndall's brief but suggestive note, in the number of the *Athenæum* for February 17, induces me to make a few observations on the relations of the Roman road to Silbury Hill; and affords at the same time an opportunity of referring to the Anglo-Saxon Charters, which were relied on in Mr. Fergusson's first letter (Dec. 22, 1865, p. 888), as evidence in favour of his extraordinary opinions as to the origin of the megalithic remains at Avebury there maintained.

I. Professor Tyndall's opinion that Silbury Hill afforded a "splendid landmark" to the Roman engineers, seems most just. As the Roman military roads were carried in a straight, or nearly straight, line from place to place, it is evident that such a road between Cunetio and Aquæ Solis must of necessity traverse the country very near where Silbury Hill stands. Its having been carried so close to the base (or site of the base) of the ancient mound, as all in different degrees admit, seems to have arisen from the topographical necessities of the

case. To have carried the road to the north would have led into a much more difficult line of country, over the very summit of Oldbury, remote from the one easy descent over the western escarpment of the Downs, at Morgan's Hill, where the celebrated junction of the road and Wansdyke is found. To have carried it even a very little further to the south, would have led to the spot where the river Kennet, flowing from the north, makes an abrupt turn to the east, and too near to the bed of the river, which here winds through water-meadows of considerable extent, even now subject to be flooded; and which were probably much more so in Roman times.

The Roman engineers took the best line which was open to them; carrying their road down the side of Overton Hill, a very little to the north of the present village of West Kennet, and so along the southern flank of Waden Hill, very much in the line of the modern road. It was thus possible to cross the valley of the Kennet at its narrowest point, by fording the river near the site of the present bridge, a very little to the east of Silbury, and on its south side. As regards this *eastern* portion of the road, the evidence for any deflection to the south, in order to avoid the great tumulus, does not appear to me satisfactory, nor is any such deflection shown either in the Ordnance map or in the four maps and plans by Crocker, in the second volume of Sir Richard Hoare's "Ancient Wiltshire," in which the road is laid down. On the contrary, at this point, the eastern division of the road must, I think, have approximated to, rather than receded from, the base of the mound, and to have done so for two reasons. First, to obtain as easy an ascent as might be over the skirt of the jutting eminence on which the hill stands; and secondly, to effect a junction, by "a very obtuse angle," with the western division of the road. But for such approximation, the eastern and western divisions could not, in my view, have united at the foot of Silbury, but must have been carried on as parallel lines.

Rickman, we know, was of opinion that the fact of the road being carried over the jutting eminence referred to, and not along the depression or cutting between the present road and the mound, is proof that the latter did not exist when the road was made. To have done this, however, would have involved carrying the way into the excavated meadow, subject to inundations; and the ascent which the road does make is far too trivial to have received any such consideration from a Roman engineer.

Turning to the remains of the road still to be seen to the *west* of Silbury, in the open fields to the south and east of the village of Beckhampton, everyone will admit that it points direct to the hill. It "seems," says Sir Richard Hoare, "to have taken Silbury Hill for its bearing, but to have made a slight deviation from the straight line in order to avoid it" ("Roman Æra," 1819, p. 89); or, as Dean Merewether observed (1849), it "would have cut the hill at one-third

of its base, had not its course been deflected." Now it must be admitted that the appearance of a road being directed straight to any given object is very fallacious, if judged of even at the moderate distance of half a mile. In order to say that there has been a deflection to avoid such object, we must be able to trace the road almost up to it. That a deflection did occur in this instance, and the method by which it was accomplished, have already been intimated in describing the manner in which the eastern portion of the road joins the western on the south side of the foot of Silbury. Minute observations in support of this deflection have been made, not only by Sir John Lubbock and Professor Tyndall, but also by those resident on the spot, whose evidence Mr. Fergusson seems to demand.

I must here quote the remarks of the Hon. Secretary of our Wilts Archæological Society, the Rev. A. C. Smith, by whom we are furnished with another "differential test," not less valuable, perhaps, than the growing clover or ripening wheat. Mr. Smith, who lives close by, at Yatesbury, tells us :

"I have very carefully examined the ground, and followed the road over and over again, at all seasons of the year, but more especially in winter at the beginning of a thaw, when the snow which is melted from the surrounding fields clings somewhat longer to the old road, and marks its course most unmistakably. And I have the strong corroborative testimony of Mr. Pinniger, through whose land at Beckhampton the road runs, and who, living on the spot, has continual opportunities of observation at all seasons, that the crops of corn ripening somewhat earlier on the track of the Roman road than in the surrounding fields, marks its course just before harvest very clearly. Now at both these seasons we can trace the old road much nearer to Silbury than at any other time of the year : and the testimony of all those who have had their attention called to it, agrees in affirming that the road runs straight for Silbury, but afterwards turns southward to avoid it."*

II. In the course of the discussion no one has referred to the Anglo-Saxon Charters, on which Mr. Fergusson relies so much for the support of his opinions. These, it will be remembered, are—first, "that Avebury was nothing more than a burying-place;" secondly, that, like other parallel lines of stones, it was "a full-sized plan of a battle, lithographed on the field where it was fought;" and thirdly, that "Silbury Hill was raised to commemorate" a battle, probably "Arthur's twelfth and last great battle of Badon Hill," in which the South Saxons, Mr. Fergusson thinks, aided those of Wessex ; and in which, he believes, Cissa, their king, was slain. The first of these Charters (No. 1120 of the Codex Diplomaticus), undoubtedly refers to the parish of Overton, which immediately adjoins that of Avebury. That Avebury, however, was included in this

* *Wilts Archæological Magazine*, vol. vii., p. 183.

manor, as Mr. Fergusson states, there is no evidence. The descent of the manors of Avebury and of the two Overtons is well known, and is traced, more or less fully, in the notes to "Aubrey's Collections," by Canon Jackson (p. 330); and in "Domesday for Wiltshire," by the Rev. W. H. Jones (p. 228). Avebury was Terra Regis at the time of the Conquest; and the eastern part of Overton was at the same time held by the Bishop of Winchester, from whom it has descended to the Duke of Marlborough and others; while the western portion was held by the Abbess of Wilton, and is now the property of her representative, the Earl of Pembroke. The late Mr. J. M. Kemble has led Mr. Fergusson into error with regard to this charter. Mr. Kemble has correctly identified the manor, the boundaries of which are appended to the charter, with our Overton; but he has erroneously referred it to that comprised in the western part of the parish, whilst it really appertains to the eastern ("Archæological Journal," vol. xiv., p. 133). I was some years since induced to compare closely the boundaries appended to this charter with those given in another (No. 571), for the adjacent manor of West Overton, and likewise with the names of places in the Ordnance and other maps, including the large parish maps of East and West Overton and East Kennet, to which I was allowed access. As the boundaries of the two manors—on the east side of the one, and on the west side of the other—are conterminous, I was able, by inquiry on the spot, to identify, to a great extent, the ancient boundaries with the actual localities. The result was my conviction that most of Kemble's identifications were erroneous; of which I believe I was able to satisfy the Rev. W. H. Jones, who was good enough to accompany me over the ground. As to the addendum to the boundaries to this charter, in regard to "pastures and down land at Mapplederlea Westward," nothing could be made out, after the strictest local inquiry; and Mr. Kemble himself says, "I do not know whether there is any place called Maple Durley in the neighbourhood." It is in this addendum, however, that there is mention of a "stone-row," and of burial-places ("byrgelsas"), the former of which Mr. Kemble, without evidence, connects with the Kennet avenue; but which, judging from other charters (*e.g.*, Nos. 452, 1080), was probably a row of boundary stones, such as are now seen on the downs. The "Hackpen" of this charter can hardly be *Haca's pen, or enclosure*; or, as Mr. Kemble would have us believe, "the stone ring" of Avebury; but must be the well-known hill of that name, the highest point of these downs, a mile to the north-east. There are other Hackpen hills, in Devonshire and Berkshire, in places where there are no stone circles. Mr. J. M. Kemble was a very learned Anglo-Saxon scholar, and an able antiquary; but Homer himself may be found napping at times, and we can only infer from his attempt at the identification of these boundaries, that he had not

acquired the local knowledge requisite for its due accomplishment.

As to Charter No. 1094, Mr. Fergusson again takes his indications from Kemble, who says: "In this Charter we have 'Cissan beorh,' or Cissa's barrow, in the neighbourhood of Overton, in Wiltshire. As far as I know, this name was only borne by one person, namely the son of Ælli, the founder of the kingdom of Sussex, and it is possible that this was his burial-place, if, as is very likely, he fell in a fray against the British; indeed, it is not impossible that the Overton mentioned is in Hampshire, not Wiltshire. And then we may assume that Cissa perished in a battle with his West Saxon neighbours." (*Loc. cit.*, p. 129.) All this, it must be admitted, is most unsatisfactory. Two vague suggestions are thrown out, when in truth there is nothing but conjecture in favour of either. Cissa, the second King of the South Saxons, is a prince of whom we know very little, except that he gave his name to his capital, Cissanceaster (Chichester). It requires no profound knowledge of Anglo-Saxon to perceive that this charter (as well as Nos. 603 and 1092), does not refer to the Overton near Avebury, but to Overton in Hampshire, not far from Basingstoke; all the other places named in it—Tadley, Waltham, and Bradley—being by Kemble himself, in his "Index of Places," assigned to places so called in Hampshire. These charters, of which there are several, are of the time of Edward the Elder, c. A.D. 910, and refer to the possessions of the see of Winchester, which were afresh secured to that see by the King, at the instance of the Bishop Frithestan.* Cissa is not a name peculiar to the South Saxon King (Flor. Wigorn. A.D. 714); and the barrow named in this charter, there can be little doubt, took its name from some other Cissa; there is, at least, no evidence of its being that of the King. We thus see that there is no mention whatever of the barrow of any Cissa at our Wiltshire Overton; and so the argument for the death of Cissa, King of the South Saxons, at "the battle of Avebury," if indeed such a battle were ever fought, entirely falls to the ground.

III. I may inform your readers, that during the past autumn, excavations, such as Mr. Fergusson suggests, were made by members of the Wilts Archæological Society, within the area of the two inner circles at Avebury. I was unable to be present, but I learned from my friends, Mr. Smith and Mr. Cunnington, that nothing, beyond a few bones of animals and some fragments of coarse pottery, was found. The negative evidence thus obtained is opposed to the sepulchral theory which has been so much pressed of late years.

I am permitted by Mr. Smith to append his note of the excavations, as follows:

"Our diggings lasted a week. We thoroughly trenched across the

* The Bishop of Winchester is still lord of the manors and patron of the livings of Overton, Tadley and North Waltham.

centre of the inner southern circle, examined the centre of the northern circle, dug a number of holes and trenches in various parts of the area, and made a large opening, besides various smaller ones in other parts, into the great mound which surrounds the whole. We found a few pieces of British pottery, a great many animal bones—horse, ox, and sheep, but *not a fragment of human bone*. I have prepared a full account of these diggings, which will appear in a future number of the 'Wilts Archæological Journal.' ”

Having examined the fragments of bone and pottery obtained in the course of these excavations, I ought perhaps to state that among the latter, some of which are ancient British, are many pieces of well-fired Roman-British pottery, not differing from those obtained from well-known Roman sites. Though with well-modelled rims and mouldings, they are of a coarse description, and are, probably, portions of vessels which had been used for culinary purposes. The discovery of Roman pottery within the circles of Avebury may, perhaps, show that it was a place of resort in Roman times, as was indeed to have been expected ; but by no means proves that these megalithic circles were erected at so late a period.

I have trespassed too long on your space, but it is difficult to write concisely on topographical subjects, where everything depends on exactitude of detail.

I am, etc. JOHN THURNAM, M.D., F.S.A.

Brandrith Craggs.

[1785, *Part I.*, p. 360.]

Hearing some time ago the above-mentioned appellation given to a ridge of rocks, situated on a mountain, overlooking a deep vale; about half-way betwixt Knaresbrough and Shipton, I was led to suppose the place had once been appropriated to Druidical superstition, in name manifestly implying the “fire circle.” A small village also, at 2 miles distance, evidently takes its name from hence, being called “Few Stone.” On coming to the place, I found it answer every description my ideas had formed of it. On the highest part of one of these rocks is a smooth, regular, well-wrought bason, formed out of the solid stone, 2 feet in depth, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter. On each side of this is a smaller bason formed, each on a prominent point of the rock. A few yards from hence is a rocking stone, the irregularity of the figure making it difficult to ascertain the weight exactly ; yet it may be reasonably supposed to weigh near 20 tons, and so equally poised, as to be moved with ease by one hand.

Rocking stones are found in many parts of this island ; some ascribed to nature alone, and others to art. Rock basons are not so common : they are found in some parts of Cornwall ; but very few of them are mentioned to have been found in any other part of this

country. Should any of your readers be able to throw some light on the original invention and use of them, it would, without doubt, be very agreeable to the studious investigators of British antiquities.

E. H.

The Devil's Arrows near Burrowbridge.

[1790, *Part II.*, p. 1081.]

I have sent you a view and separate representation, taken on the spot, of three stones near Burrowbridge, Yorkshire, commonly called "The Devil's Arrows" (Plate iii, figs. 1, 2), and generally supposed to be British deities. (Some author, which I think is Camden,* in his "Britannia," says there are four,† and that the other is in the market-place, which must be a mistake, or the account taken by hearsay, as the one standing in the market-place is the remains of a fluted column which, I think, is of the Doric order. They are placed in a direct line in some fields, near the town; and on inquiry could hear of no other.) A road runs between them, as is represented in the view, fig. 1; their distances from each other being, from the first to the second, 124 paces; from the second to the third, 70 paces. The stones are natural, having seen some of the kind and grain in quarries. Fig. 2 is a representation of the same, drawn separately, but on the same scale. The highest is about 24 feet, so that the dimensions of the others may be readily determined. They bear the marks of the greatest antiquity, being worn away on the top apparently by length of time and the rain, which has made those furrows down the sides, as is evidently seen by the perpendicular tendency of them. The ground round each is sunk-in to a small depth. Should any of your intelligent correspondents throw any light when, by whom, or on what occasion they were erected, I shall be much obliged; and at some future time may send you other drawings.

Yours, etc. T. H.

* * We are much obliged to our correspondent for his offer of future drawings, and have engraved the present on account of its representing the *present state* of these stones, which have already been engraved in Dr. Gale's "Commentary on Antonine's Itinerary," p. 16; and also in Mr. Drake's "History of York," p. 26.

[1790, *Part II.*, p. 1196.]

Some few years ago I visited the upright pillars near Boroughbridge, engraven in p. 1081. They are nearly in a right line; and a fourth, I was told, had then been lately destroyed. Two of them are about 5 feet square, by 22 or 23 feet high, and the other is 7 feet 3 inches square, and perhaps 15 feet high; but the height was measured only

* Not Camden certainly. See "Britannia," iii. 9, 58. More probably some modern tourist.

† He adds, "The fourth was lately thrown down."

by the eye. They were covered with moss. I broke off a piece or two, and immediately set it down *a composition of sand and mortar*: but I afterwards found that this apparent mortar or cement would not effervesce with acids. My first conclusion, I apprehend, was too hasty; and, from further observation, I am now convinced they are a kind of granite or quartz.

Yours, etc. W. M.

Remains in Yorkshire.

[1831, *Part II.*, p. 456.]

Mr. Cole, of Scarborough, lately discovered in the vicinity of the village of Cloughton, a Druidical Circle. It is about 12 yards in diameter, having the altar-stone remaining, and is in the direction bearing north-north-east from the Wharton Circle. Its site is in a vale, called Hulley's Slack, and near it flows a clear spring of water. It is bounded by the plantation denominated Lind Ridge or Rigs, on the opposite elevation.

A discovery of ancient stone coffins has lately been made in the interior of some cairns on the farm of Mountberiot, parish of Moneydie. They are supposed to be the remains of some Druidical priests, as ruins of many of their places of worship are in this neighbourhood, or the ashes of some of their victims sacrificed at their feasts.

Some Observations on Certain supposed Druidical Remains in the County of York.

[1839, *Part I.*, pp. 133-140.]

In many of your former numbers the attention of your readers has been drawn to the subject of Druidism, and the investigation of the numerous interesting relics usually ascribed to the Druids in different parts of the island. I am now induced to call their attention to some works of this kind in this part of the kingdom, which have survived the lapse of ages, though many have fallen under the destructive ravages of time, and the yet more destructive hand of violence. It must be regarded as highly desirable to rescue from oblivion the little that now remains of these primæval works, and if (as appears probable) they are doomed to further destruction, from agricultural innovation, or other causes, still let it be reserved for your pages to transmit to posterity some account of these memorials of the primitive faith of our forefathers. Another reason, also, which has influenced me in the selection of this subject is the contiguity of (what was within the memory of man) a rocking stone, in the neighbourhood of the site of the ancient Cambodunum, and which appears to me, in some measure, to account for the choice of such a spot for the establishment of a Roman town, as it is clearly shown to have been one of the first objects of these conquerors to uproot the religion of the vanquished Britons; for, so long as the Druids retained their influence, they had nothing to expect but

continued revolt. Tacitus, in describing the conquest of Anglesey, says, "the island fell, and a garrison was retained to keep it in subjection. The religious groves dedicated to superstition and barbarous rites were levelled to the ground. In these recesses the natives imbued their hands with the blood of their prisoners." The rocking-stone in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield is surrounded by a large tract of moorland, which retains the British appellation of Chat or Coit or Wood Moss, affording a sufficient proof that this part of the country was part of an immense wood, and probably continued so till nearly the time of the Norman Conquest. Within the memory of man, immense trunks of trees have been found in this heathy tract. But before I proceed to the more immediate object of this essay, permit me to caution your readers against a mistake which has not unfrequently been made, in considering all basin-like cavities in rocks as the work of art, whereas such appearances have been seen where there is not the least vestige of Druidical occupancy. Every one, in the least conversant with geology, has repeatedly noticed such partial excavations in rocks of a certain description, arising solely from a slight partial decomposition of the rock, and a gradual lodgment of water. Sometimes the whole surface of a rock from this cause will present a honeycomb appearance, or is worked into small basins.

The size and shapes of these cavities vary according to the nature of the rock; but in the hardest rocks there is reason to believe that where once there is a breach in the surface capable of retaining water, decomposition proceeds, which may in the lapse of centuries produce circular or elliptical cavities, such as have been mistaken for the work of art. The moors bordering on the Vale of Todmorden present to the view vast assemblages of massy rock, and among these we find one perhaps resembling a pillar, another a cromlech; yet on a careful examination of these wild disorderly masses, it is impossible to doubt that, with respect to many at least, they are the work of nature. It is easy to be led away by a warm imagination to conjure up ideal phantasies; but though it is exceedingly probable that this romantic spot was the resort of our Druidical ancestors, yet there is hardly a single rock that can with anything like certainty be pronounced the work of art. It is not improbable, I admit, that some of them may have undergone some artificial change, in which case the marks of the iron instrument are obliterated by the lapse of ages; but, if that is the case, the workmanship was of a rude nature, such as might have been exercised in the infancy of society. The marks of the iron instrument are still visible in the knobs and cavities of the trilithons at Stonehenge.* Some perforations, that are said to have been visible in many of

* From the circumstance of the stones at Stonehenge being wrought with a tool (a defilement prohibited by the Hebrew Lawgiver, and never instanced in the

the stones at Todmorden, seem to countenance the position that they were designed for the performance of some superstitious rite. The pillar in the earliest times was a stone no larger than what a man might carry to its destined spot, as in Jacob's Bethel, and the Gilgal of Joshua; yet stones that one man could carry to any place, and another might carry away, we find undisturbed for ages. This shows that the practice was a general one, and of long standing. It indicates, too, the inviolable sanctity attached to such pillars. But in time the larger pillars came into use, as indicative of a higher degree of dignity. Thus the pillar near the oak at Shechem, in the vicinity of which the Israelites were assembled by Joshua, is noticed as a great stone;* and the altar erected by the tribe of Reuben and of Gad on the banks of Jordan, is said to be a "a great altar to see to." The groups of stones set up by the Israelites were twelve in number, according to the number of their tribes, whereas those of the Canaanites were not confined to that number. The pillars and altars erected by the Patriarchs were dedicated to the service of Jehovah, but those by the Canaanites were devoted to idol worship, and their altars erected to Baal. In this island there are still standing rude pillars, some of stupendous size. There is one of this class at Rudstone, in this county. The well-known Brimham Rocks, in this county, probably owe their extraordinary aspect to some convulsion of nature [see *ante*, p. 53]; but it is quite clear that either the Druids, or some earlier occupants, availed themselves of these stupendous works of nature for the performance of their superstitious rites. In the Cannon Rocks (as they are called) there are various perforations, through which it is supposed the priests delivered their oracular responses. There are here also a great number of tumuli spread over the ground, resembling those at Stonehenge, which is not the case at Todmorden, and some of the immense rocks vibrate upon a pivot, like the logan stones of Cornwall. Mr. Hargrave, the historian of Knaresborough, mentions a Rock Idol, 46 feet in circumference, which rests on a pedestal of only 1 foot by 2 feet 7 inches. Though no tree is to be seen within half a mile of the place, yet, on digging among these rocks, roots, and trunks of oaks, and other trees have been found. This circumstance harmonizes exactly with our views of Druidical worship, for it is asserted by Pliny, in speaking of the Druids, "*Jam per se roborum eligunt lucos, neque ulla sacra sine eâ fronde conficiunt.*"

The next example of reputed Druidical remains in this county, which I shall describe, is to be found in Saddleworth. There is a lofty

Druidical remains) does it not seem likely that Stonehenge is not of a like nature, or for the same object as the rude unhewn rocks and pillars erected as places of worship in so many spots? Some of the Todmorden rocks resemble pillars of the latter description.

* Joshua xxiv. 26.

hill, called by the neighbouring people Pots and Pans. Upon its summit are abundance of craggy stones scattered up and down, which, when viewed from the east, look like the foundation or ruins of some stupendous fabric. One of these stones, or rather two of them, closely joined together, is called the Pancake. It has upon its surface four basins hollowed in the stone, the largest, being nearly in the centre, is capable of holding 8 or 10 gallons; but it is not possible to ascertain whether these hollows are artificial or natural. This stone is about 76 feet in circumference; another long uneven hole upon this stone is called Robin Hood's Bed. A little westward of this is another stone, about 20 feet in height, and about 56 feet in circumference at the base, but much narrower at the top, from whence proceed irregular flutings or ridges down one side, of about 2 feet long, by some supposed the effect of time, and by others the workmanship of art. More westward, and nearer the valley of Greenfield, the ground is called Alderman's, and overlooks that valley, opposite to a large and high rock called Alphian. Upon the level of this ground is a fissure in the earth, about 12 or 14 yards long, each end terminating in a cavernous hole in the rock, one of which is capable of admitting dogs, foxes, or sheep: the other large enough to receive men. Neither of these caverns has been thoroughly explored by anyone within memory.* One person who went into the larger with a light, returned after having gone down a sloping descent of about 60 yards. Tradition says, into the other hole, once went a dog in full chase after a fox, but neither of them ever returned. Similar stone basins have been found upon the common, some miles distant, and in their *neighbourhood a stone celt*. It was conjectured by the gentleman to whom I am indebted for this account, that the large upright stone, about 20 feet in height, was an idol once here worshipped; around it are many very large stones, lying in all directions. Probably the form of the stone was not unlike the Phœnician pillars before alluded to. There were holes in the stone, that countenanced the supposition that it was used for the purpose of Pagan deception. At Mow Cop also is a rude upright pillar, called the Old Man at Mow, and believed by the country people to have been an idol, once the object of worship. It is needless to add that the British word Maen signifies a stone, and that the prefix "old" or "elder," is merely a Saxon epithet to denote its antiquity. As for the large and high rock now called Alphian, I suppose it to be of Hebrew or Phœnician origin, viz., from אֱלֹהִים Deus, and פִּגְלָה a hill, or hill idol, dedicated to the worship

* This is an extract from an account of these rocks written fifty years ago. Since that time demolition has been at work, and what time has spared has been wantonly injured. Many of these large and ponderous stones have been removed by crows and levers, for the purpose of trying how far they would tumble. Thus we find the hand of violence uniting with the devouring teeth of time, determined scarcely to leave one stone upon another upon this once sacred ground.

of the sun. For Servius, speaking of Belus, the Phœnician, affirms, "all in those parts (about Phœnicia) worship the sun, who in their language is called Hel;" and again he says, "God is called Hal in the Punic or Carthaginian tongue." The first day of May was a great annual festival observed by the Druids in honour of the sun. On this day prodigious fires were kindled in all their sacred places, and on the tops of all their cairns, and many sacrifices were offered to that glorious luminary, which now began to shine upon them with great warmth and lustre. Of this festival, there are still some vestiges remaining both in Ireland and in the Highlands of Scotland, where the first of May is called Beltein, or the fire of Bel.

In various parts of the West Riding of Yorkshire, there are large rocks, some of a curious shape, to which tradition has assigned extraordinary sanctity; but as mankind in all ages has been swayed by the love of the marvellous, it is probable that many of these traditions have no better foundations than the fears or superstitious credulity of the inhabitants. Yet, if we reject every instance of this sort where positive evidence is not attainable, such scepticism would invalidate the truth of many circumstances which we have been accustomed to regard as indubitable facts. Among the number of these curious remains in this neighbourhood, I shall briefly record a few of the more prominent instances; and in doing so it is necessary to remind the reader, that the innovations of the last century have done more to destroy these venerable remains than twice ten hundred years before. I have already alluded to the celebrated rocking-stone which forms the boundary betwixt the two townships of Golcar and Slathwaite, and which has from the earliest ages given the name of Holy-stone to the adjacent moor. This stone is $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, containing nearly 6 cubits Druidical measure, 9 feet 4 or 5 inches broad, containing nearly 5 cubits, and 5 feet 3 inches thick, answering to 3 cubits, or thereabout. Its weight is above 18 tons. Like other rocking-stones, it rests on so small a pedestal, that at one particular point it may be made to rock, though it sustained some damage many years ago from the wanton interference of some masons, who endeavoured to throw it from its centre, in order to discover the principle on which so large a weight was made to move. It is said, also, that some time during the last century, a large mass of this rock was broken off, and used for the purposes of masonry. There is a spring of water near this rock, and a passage underneath the rock, which, if cleared, is said to be large enough to admit the body of a man, through which the water flows, and where the timid hare sometimes flies for shelter. The earliest records relating to this district, give us to understand that this spot has been regarded as sacred, and the rock itself to have given name to the adjacent township (Godleyscar, corrupted into Golcar). How far this is true, some future investigations may probably elicit, but it is not improbable, that if this rock

be (as is supposed) a Druidical remain, the first converts to Christianity in this part of the district may have received the rite of baptism at the contiguous spring; and, that before edifices of public worship were known in this district, the primitive Christians assembled here on stated occasions to celebrate a more costly sacrifice than the blood of beasts, and to sing the wonders of Redeeming love.* It has before been stated that this rocking-stone is close to the site of the ancient Cambodunum. In digging for fence stone (in the "eald fields," as they are called) a long range of foundations of buildings was lately laid bare, which were surrounded with charcoal and ashes; and among the ruins a large quantity of loose stones, that had undergone the action of fire, was discovered. I observed the same appearance on former occasions, when the ground was opened (as it often is for repairing the neighbouring fences), and the conviction is complete in my mind that this once important town was destroyed by fire, probably either by the Saxons or the Danes. Though many Roman roads diverge from it, yet its destruction was so complete that no record of it is to be found in Domesday Book. It may perhaps contribute to strengthen the probability that the rocking-stone on Holystone Moor was a Druidical remain, when I state that, on exploring the soil below the foundations of the walls of the Roman town, I succeeded in discovering several adder beads, as they are called, glazed with blue, and furrowed in the sides. If these are (as they are reputed to be) Druidical amulets, such a fact would go far to show that this settlement was occupied by the Britons before the time of the Roman Conquest, and that it was the scene of Druidical rites and ceremonies. Following the track of the Roman road, which passes through the township of the Back-island, we fall in with other rocky appearances, that are considered indicative of Druidical occupancy. Of this kind is a ring of stones, called the Wolf-fold. The stones of this circle are not erect, but lie in a confused heap like the ruins of a building, and the largest may have been taken away. It is but a few yards in diameter, and gives the name of Ringstone† Edge to the adjacent moor. I should be more disposed to ascribe a judicial than a religious character to these stones, if indeed they are Druidical. The judicial application of such circles corresponds with the practice recorded in Scripture. Samuel took a circuit yearly to Bethel, the pillar that Jacob erected to Gilgal, the circle that Joshua ordered to be made, and to Mizpeh,

* As the Jews, after their conversion of Christianity, in the days of the Apostles, still retained an attachment to their accustomed ceremonies, so we are told that the Britons, after their conversion to Christianity, still had a veneration for the pillar and the cromlech, and preferred performing their worship at those places, which accounts for the practice in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland.

† Ringstone, in some old writings called Rinstone, from which it has been supposed to derive its name from its Runic origin; but it is quite clear that, in the earliest ages, a mystical importance was connected with this stone circle.

and judged Israel in all that place. Remains of such circles are found in Denmark, and one styled Dom or Doomrings. There is a circle of this sort in Oxfordshire, called Rollright, or circle of justice. Not far from Ringstone Edge is a parcel of rocks, on a common called Whole or Holystone Moor. These stones, which were in general about 5 or 6 feet in height above ground, and about 6 feet in circumference, were perforated at about 3 feet from the ground by a round hole, sufficient to admit a common-sized hand. [See *ante*, p. 53.] These were undoubtedly the work of art, and were (as has before been conjectured) connected with some idolatrous rites and ceremonies of primitive times. In Rishworth* (not far from the above) is a group of stones, laid seemingly one upon another to the height of several yards, which retains the name of Rocking-stone. Tradition says that it once would rock, but that quality is lost. Though the surrounding district is at the present day wild and waste, yet there is reason to believe that in early ages it was a place of some celebrity, for we find even yet remaining vestiges of the foundation of a large building, not far from the above rocking-stone, by a place called Castle Dean, an appellation which has induced some to suppose that it was at one time a place of strength. I do not find, however, any Roman road leading to it. It is more probable that it was a place of importance at a period anterior to the Roman Conquest, as the name by which this place is known is Bod or Booth Dean, which are words of British origin. The word Dean may be a corruption from the British name for a wood, viz. Arden, as there is sufficient evidence that it once was woody, though there is not a tree or a bush to be seen at the present day, for the mosses hereabouts, that are cut into for fuel, are full of the remains of trunks of trees. As this interesting place, however, has not been examined with the attention it deserves, it is to be hoped that some future discoveries may tend to throw some light upon the question. The great variety of immense and curious rocks spread over the common make it not impossible that it was a scene of idol worship, by the Druids or some early race of idolaters in this part of the kingdom. I must not omit also to mention a rude stone pillar near 6 feet high in Sowerby, of which tradition gives various accounts. There is also in Warley what resembles an altar, the height of which on the west side is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards. It is a huge piece of rock, with cavities resembling rock basins, whether artificial or natural is difficult to decide. At a short distance from it is a rocking-stone, thrown from its centre. Round the pedestal which supports it there is a passage, which from every appearance seems to have been formed by art. At the distance of about half a mile from this huge rock are, or were, the remains of a cairn, which for centuries has been called by the country people the Sleepy

* *Vide* "History of Halifax," Watson, Crabtree.

Low; and, as usual, tradition has handed down its store of legendary wonders to account for the singular appearance which this district presents. There are many other remains of a similar description in various parts of the parishes of Halifax and Huddersfield well worthy of further investigation, as affording decisive vestiges of the ancient Britons, as well as marks of Druidical occupancy. Besides, the very names of the hills and streams, in the sequestered parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, are such as to indicate their Celtic origin; and indeed the numerous brass celts, arrow-heads of flint, and battle-axes, discovered from time to time in this mountainous district, sufficiently point it out as the favourite resort of our primitive forefathers. [The remainder of the article speculates on the origin of the Druid religion.]

J. K. WALKER, D.D.

[1840, *Part I.*, p. 135.]

. Allow me to supply an omission in my account of the Druidical remains of this part of the kingdom. In describing the peculiarities incidental to these singular remains, I have not applied to them the ordinary designation by which they are known, such as Ladstones, Bridestones, Cromlechs, etc., and I should not have alluded to them on the present occasion had I not been reminded of this omission by a brother antiquary. Among the number of these is a stone or pillar at Todmorden, which goes by the name of "Bridestone." It does not appear that this is a local term, the emanation of idle fancy, as the same term is used in other parts of the kingdom, and is in fact applied to some reputed Druidical remains in Staffordshire. Nor are we able to trace the origin of this term, though I find that it is used in very early records, referring, among other things, to the Todmorden rocks, especially in a deed of Henry VII. At the edge of Norland Moor, a few miles from Halifax, I have already stated that there is an immense ledge of rock, which projects over the side of the hill, which has been called from the earliest times the Ladstone. Other rocks have been so called elsewhere. With respect to the term cromlech, I do not remember finding it in any ancient deed, except the word Crimlishworth (now Crimsworth) derives its name from a cromlech situate in that district. The word cromlech is said to be derived from the Armoric word *crum*, crooked, and *lech*, a stone; but, if these stones were really regarded as sacred, is not the Hebrew term "Carem luach," that is, "consecrated stone," a more probable derivation? [See Note 15.] The belief that these rocks were the scenes of idolatrous worship is supported by tradition. Such is the case in various parts of Scotland and Wales, where they are sometimes called chapels and temples. We learn also from the early records of idolatry in Ireland, that one of the chief idols of that people was styled Cromeruach, which remained till St. Patrick's

time. We are further told that at his approach it fell to the ground, and the minor surrounding idols sunk into the earth up to their necks. It seems probable, therefore, that these singular rocks, known by the name of cromlechs, both in Britain and Ireland, were originally what tradition has recorded them to be, heathen altars, upon which the idolatrous priests shed the blood of victims, and performed their superstitious rites and ceremonies.

J. K. WALKER, M.D.

Sepulchral Pillar at Stowford, Devonshire.

[1838, *Part I.*, p. 45.]

The sepulchral memorial which I would notice is extant in the churchyard of Stowford, in the county of Devon, and has been communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Johnes, the incumbent. It is remarkable for the inscription that it bears: the characters, having much affinity with the Pelasgo-Greek or Etruscan, may be considered as an example of that kind of Greek letter which the Celtic people are said, by the classic writers, to have used.

After much consideration I can find no other reading for this memorial than POMP. S. E. I. *Pompeius sepultus est intus*. Nor can I speak of this solution with any degree of certainty.* At any rate the inscription is worthy the attention of the philological antiquary, and much praise is due to the Rev. Mr. Johnes, who caused this curious relic to be taken up from the road side and preserved in the churchyard. The clergy are often found to be the efficient conservators of our national antiquities, especially in remote and obscure parishes, where they are peculiarly exposed to annihilation.

A. J. K.

Druid Altar near Bala.

[1804, *Part II.*, p. 907.]

During the months of July and August last, I made an excursion into the principality of North Wales. It is inexpressible the pleasure which I felt in surveying the bold feature of that country, and in wandering through many a sweet valley which separate the mountains that threaten to overwhelm them every moment. As I passed along from Llangollen to Barmouth, I received much civility and kindness from the Ancient Britons, and particularly from the Rev. John Lloyd, of Paley, near Bala, whose hospitality and attention to me demand my warmest acknowledgment.

It is not generally known (at least I have not seen it mentioned by any of our Welsh tourists) that there is near this gentleman's mansion-house a Druidical altar, in a very perfect state. This altar is situated

* The first and fourth characters, from the transverse stroke at top, I take to be II.

in a wood, surrounded with many a fine oak. It is unnecessary to observe here, that this was invariably the situation which the Druids chose for their bloody altars.

Mr. Lloyd told me a curious anecdote of a woman who used to take up her abode under this altar, and who from thence, in the night time, made visits to her neighbours in order to procure food for her daily sustenance. These visits, you will understand, were of a predatory nature, but confined solely to food. She lived there many years undisturbed in her Druidical habitation.

In a field adjoining to the above-mentioned wood is a stone chest, placed about $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot below the surface of the ground. The side stones are about 2 yards in length, and the heads nearly one. Now, Mr. Urban, I should be much obliged to any of your learned correspondents, if they can inform me whether these sort of chests are frequently to be met with in this kingdom, and what could be their original use. By giving this a corner in your useful miscellany, you will greatly oblige

A NORTHERN WANDERER.

British Sepulchral Pillars at Llandawke, Carmarthen-shire, and Stowford, Devon.

[1838, *Part I.*, pp. 43, 44.]

The sepulchral stelæ or pillars of the Romano-Britons are well known to antiquaries; many of them are still extant in Devonshire and Cornwall, still more in the principality of Wales. The region to which the Britons retreated before the Saxon sword, and where they long resisted the dominion of the Norman dynasty, of course retains the strongest traces of the manners of its original inhabitants.

The custom of erecting pillars to point out the graves of the deceased is very ancient: it was used by the Greeks and the Egyptians. These stelæ frequently bore inscriptions, declaring the family and virtues of the defunct, or expressing some brief moral aphorism. Monumental effigies also were employed by the Greeks and Pelasgic tribes, of which fact such fine examples have been recently exhibited by Signor Campanari in his facsimile models of some Etruscan sepulchral chambers with their contents. There are not indeed wanting approaches to sepulchral effigies in this country of the Romano-British period, but they are in bas-relief carved on the face of altars erected to the manes (*Diis Manibus*), not figures entirely relieved and representing the defunct with all the identity of portraiture, as appears to be the case in the tombs from Tarquinia in Tuscany, to which we have referred. They were chiefly the work of the Roman legionary soldiers, and placed, according to custom, by the wayside. The Britons followed this arrangement of their Roman inter-colonists, but the sepulchral pillars which they raised were of

much ruder construction; and they continued the practice until "Llanau,"* sacred enclosures or churchyards were formed, which must have been about the time when parochial divisions took place, and some permanent edifices and sites were consecrated to the service of Almighty God. Parishes were commonly at first commensurate with lordships or manors. The lord of the district patronised the Christian pastor, built and endowed the church, and found his account in the moral improvement conveyed to his vassals. The custom of indicating graves in these enclosures, by a stone at the head and foot of the corpse, appears to be very ancient. The body of King Arthur, buried in the cemetery at Glastonbury in 542, was found between two pillars of stone (owing to the information contained in some bardic verses), in the reign of Henry II. Whether the inscription, said to have been discovered on a leaden plate in the grave, be genuine, is, I imagine, very doubtful; but the fact of the search having been made is attested by an eye-witness, Giraldus Cambrensis. The corpse was found inclosed in the trunk of a tree, one well-known mode of sepulture with the British race. The sepulchral figures, commonly called the Pilgrims' Stones, in the churchyard of Llanfihangel-Aber-Cowin, of which I have forwarded you some account [see Note 16], together with their head and foot stones, are perhaps very late examples, in the middle age, of British tombs.

I now request you to record two ancient sepulchral pillars hitherto unnoticed. Having received information from the Rev. Mr. Thomas, the Rector of Llandawke, that an ancient inscribed but illegible stone was placed in that church, I took an early opportunity of examining it. The little church of Llandawke is situated about one mile north-west of Laugharne, in a hollow on the side of a hill, and within a few yards of a fine spring of water, which makes its way to augment a rill that flows in the valley a quarter of a mile below.

The early British churches were frequently placed near springs of water; they probably were erected on the sites of the sacred circles and cromlechs of the Druids: water being employed both in the Pagan and Christian religious rites. I found the stone here delineated laid down as the sill of the church door. A copious abluion cleared its inscription, and the whole became legible, which I construe, "To the memory of [*Memoria* understood] Barryvend, the son of Venburar." The true Latin construction would, it may be observed, make the second word of the legend *fili*; but this is a British, not a Roman inscription. And I have found another similar instance of inattention to grammar by a native sculptor. The *As*, it will be observed, in this inscription are peculiarly formed, and the *S* in *filius* is reversed. The letter *I* horizontally placed is a

* The plural of Llan, a yard or inclosure; the word was subsequently employed to signify the Eglwys, Ecclesia, or Church itself, and is the general prefix of the Welsh churches, coupled with the name of some native pastor or saint.

common mode in British inscriptions of finishing a word.* *Barryvend* is perhaps some British variation of the name Baruch. Baruch, a saint of the close of the seventh century, was buried in the island of Barry, which from that circumstance received his name. *Barriwend*, if it may be read as a contraction, may express "Baruch *vendigaid*," or the blessed. The inscription I should judge to be of the seventh or eighth century; and that it probably commemorates some primitive Christian teacher on this spot.

Cromlech at Llangattock Park.

[1847, *Part II.*, p. 526.]

Some workmen recently engaged in clearing away a large heap of stones in Llangattock Park, the seat of his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, accidentally met with a cist or cromlech, consisting of four rude stones put up in the ground on their edges, while a fifth covers the top. On its being opened, a quantity of human bones were discovered, some of which soon crumbled to dust; but the bone of the arm and also the upper part of the jaw, part of the skull, and a row of teeth, were quite perfect, all of which were carefully collected and preserved. The size of the interior was 8 feet 6 inches long, 4 feet wide, reduced to 3 feet 10 inches at the other end, and 2 feet 2 inches high.

The Mên Skryfa Stone.

[1849, *Part II.*, p. 494.]

Many of your readers will remember that the Mên Skryfa, one of the most remarkable primeval monuments of this county [Cornwall], was restored to an erect position about twenty-four years ago, at the time Lanyon Cromlêh, which had fallen ten years before, was again set up by means of the tackling forwarded from the Government stores for the purpose of replacing the Logan stone. At that period the act of raising it was simply one of laudable reverence, for, whether standing or prostrate, its situation in an out-of-the-way croft seemed to promise it a sufficient security from injury. The case is, however, widely different now, when there is such a demand for our granite; and as the surface blocks are specially coveted, not only because they are more durable than most of the quarried material, but also because they are cheaper—leave being readily obtained for their removal, which renders the land available for tillage—it is much to be feared that the inscribed stone, no longer distinguished by its upright position, will be treated with as little ceremony as the nameless ones amongst which it lies.

* The dash \ preceding the word BARRIVEND— denotes an abbreviation. If the horizontal — may be taken to express the termination *us*, the whole might be read in correct Latin: "Hic situs est Barrivendus, filius Venburari."—We have no doubt this latter reading, Barrivendus, is the correct one.

Being in its immediate neighbourhood the other day, I was surprised at missing it from its accustomed place in the view, for it was a very marked object, distinctly seen on a line connecting Lanyon Cromlêh with one of the horns of Carn Galva, about a mile from the former, and perhaps half a mile from the latter; and standing, as it formerly did, in the midst of furze and heath, its lighter colour rendered it more conspicuous. On examination I discovered it lying prostrate in the croft where it had stood, but which, having recently been broken up for tillage, has been cleared of all but this and a few other blocks too large to admit of their being easily carted away, except piecemeal. A respectable countryman, of whom I inquired the cause of its overthrow, informed me that the farmer, who is also the proprietor, had a few weeks since dug around and beneath it, in the hope of finding buried treasure, and had, of course, succeeded in upsetting it.

Should no effort be made to preserve it, it seems indeed more than probable that it will shortly pass into the hands of the masons; and future antiquaries, while they lament the indifference of our generation, must console themselves as best they may by studying the engraving of 'one of the oldest monuments in Cornwall,' in Borlase's 'Antiquities.' To that work, too, they will at no distant day be obliged to resort in order to form a guess what the neighbouring relic, Chûn Castle, once was, so rapidly is it disappearing; for although the hill-side is covered with stones, its vile destroyers, if not with deliberate malice, at least with very perverse taste, prefer to pillage its ramparts, and even its massive gateway.

Is there, let me ask, no public-spirited Member of Parliament who, before every vestige of our habitational monuments has been swept away by rustic ignorance or modern improvements, will urge on the Government the necessity for adopting the only effectual means for checking the spoliation, viz., a law which shall make every landholder responsible for the safety of those existing on his property? [See Note 17.]

The materials for such a registration as would be required of those objects of antiquities which the law here suggested is intended to protect, are in great part furnished by the Ordnance Survey, especially by the more extensive one now in hand. But in order to render it more complete, local antiquaries might be invited to call the attention of the Government employés to any deficiencies in their maps and accompanying reports.

The Sculptured Stone at Migvie.

[1861, *Part II.*, p. 71.]

One of those interesting monuments of pre-historic Scotland, which have of late engaged the attention of antiquaries, has just been discovered in the old churchyard of Migvie. It had lain half buried in

the ruins of a burial-aisle, unobserved, till Mr. Smith, schoolmaster, detected the carvings on its partly exposed surface; he had it excavated and exposed to public view, and it now stands set up in the churchyard. It is a rough block of apparently unhewn granite, standing some six feet above the ground, and sculptured on both sides. On one side is the conventionally ornamented cross peculiar to that class of sculptures, supported on each side by a pair of the symbolical figures of as yet unknown meaning; below these, and underneath the arms of the cross, is the almost effaced representation of a horse, and an implement like a pair of spring-headed shears. The other side of the stone, which is very rough and uneven, bears the figure of a single mounted horseman. We believe the stone has been drawn for the Spalding Club, and will form a plate in their new volume of sculptured stones preparing for publication.—*Aberdeen Free Press*. [See Note 18.]

Figure and Description of an Irish Cromlech.

[1752, p. 230.]

This cut represents what the Irish call a cromlech, being a stone of enormous size resting upon three others near Ballymascandlan, about two miles from Dundalk, in Ireland. The incumbent stone, measuring 12 feet diameter one way and 6 another, is supposed to weigh between 30 and 40 ton, and by the inhabitants is called the "Giant's Load." The Irish say it was brought from the neighbouring mountains by Parrah bough M'Shagjean, a giant, whose grave or sepulchre of stonework they pretend to show 20 feet long and 5 broad, out of which human bones of a monstrous size, as they affirm, have been dug. Many ancient remains of this kind are to be met with in almost every county of Ireland, and are doubtless the ruins of temples, where the Druids called the people together to perform religious rites. Mr. Wright's conjecture (see his "Louthiana," p. 12), that they were no other than tombstones, because placed upon a foundation so precarious as to deter men from digging under them to disturb the ashes of the dead, seems to destroy itself; for that foundation cannot surely be deemed precarious which has continued to support such a load for so many ages, even beyond the records of time. Besides, it is evident that the ancient sepulchral monuments in these islands were of another kind, not unlike those of the ancient Peruvians already described in p. 212 [see Note 19], several of which are yet to be seen both in Great Britain and Ireland.

In Scotland are many of these massy piles called cairns, generally ascribed to the labour of the devil; but though the natives are totally ignorant of their origin, they still preserve some traces of the custom of raising them; for where any person suddenly drops down dead, if upon the road or in the field, a rude heap of stones is immediately thrown together upon the spot by the first who finds the corpse, and

the common people as they pass help to increase the pile, by adding each a stone to the original heap; and there are some so superstitiously scrupulous in this respect as to go a quarter of a mile to fetch a stone rather than pass by without contributing to perpetuate the memory of the event; a neglect which they think will be attended with some misfortune to themselves.

Irish Cromlech.

[1802, *Part I.*, p. 105.]

The inclosed is a representation of a cromlech standing in the glen of Bryanstown, about seven miles from Dublin, in the barony of Rathdown. It consists of six stones placed perpendicularly, and on these an enormous one is laid in an inclined position, which is in length $15\frac{1}{4}$ feet, in breadth 12 feet, and in thickness from 2 to 5. It is computed to weigh 26 tons.

If you deem it worthy of a corner in your next Miscellaneous Plate, it is wholly at your service. Σ.

Remains of an Ancient Temple in Ireland.

[1753, p. 9.]

A representation of the remains of a temple or theatre on the planes of Ballynanatye, near Dundalk; 'tis enclosed on one side with a rampart and ditch, and seems to have been a very great work, of the same kind with that at Stonehenge, in England, being open to the east and composed of like circles of stones within. But it appears to be much older, many of the stones being broke, and others removed. And here probably was the first settlement of a part of the western Heneti, for *ball*, in the Irish tongue, signifies dwelling.

Remains near Lough Gur, Co. Limerick.

[1833, *Part I.*, pp. 105-112.]

In furnishing you with the particulars of a paper which was read before the Society of Antiquaries three years since, respecting a Druidical work, which I believe to be at once the least known and the most extensive in existence, I must express my regret that it was not in my power to make so complete and satisfactory a survey of the remains as I desired, or as the Council of that Society thought necessary for publication.

Nevertheless, as no one has since stepped forward to supply additional particulars, and as the antiquary who meditates (and I know of more than one) a visit of examination would in the present state of the country act prudently by "leaving his throat in England," there appears to be little chance of further details being speedily supplied.

Due allowance will I trust be made for my rough notes, when I candidly state that unfavourable weather, an inability at the time to

walk any considerable distance, and the nature and extent of the ground which it was necessary to traverse, rendered my investigation in many parts extremely hurried and imperfect; although the greater portion of three days was devoted to it. Indeed, it was not altogether a service free from danger; for I was actually sheltered by Mr. Baylee in his castle from an assembly of the peasantry, who had collected upon observing me measuring some distances, and warned me off, declaring that "as the ground never had been measured, so it never should be measured; and that all tythe proctors and their surveyors were marked men."

It is the observation of my countryman Dr. Ledwich, that on no subject has fancy roamed with more licentious indulgence than on that of the Druids and their works; but in sending you such particulars as my notes enable me to put together regarding these magnificent and scarcely noticed Druidical monuments, I propose to confine my remarks within the limits of the topographer, leaving it to others better qualified than myself to raise theories on the facts which I have collected.

Lough Gur—a name which almost tempts the verbal theorist to speculate from its affinity to the Hebrew גִּיר (Gur), a congregation—in and around which the Druidical works alluded to are situated, lies about ten English miles south of the city of Limerick, on the east side of the mail-coach road between that city and Cork.

The circumference of this lake may be estimated at nearly five English miles, and its greatest breadth of water at three-quarters of a mile. It contains six islands; four of which, however, scarcely deserve the name, as their appearance is merely that of tufts of trees rising out of the water. The fifth island on the western side of the lake is inconsiderable, but it is of extent sufficient to have been the site of a small castle, of which the base is still visible. This castle, which must have been a picturesque object, has been, I was informed, very recently pulled down by Mr. Croker, of Grange, for building material, although an abundance might have been otherwise procured without difficulty, and with the stones he has erected a lime-kiln on the opposite shore, to disfigure the romantic view from the windows of his residence.

The sixth, or principal island, called Knockadoon, or the fortified hill, is oblong in form, and contains sixty acres. It is now connected with the mainland by two causeways, which approaches were respectively defended by a massive tower or castle, probably constructed in the fifteenth century by the Geraldines. The tower which protects the northern causeway is the larger and more perfect of the two. It still retains the name of the Black Castle, and is no doubt the stronghold mentioned in the "Pacata Hibernia," where the treacherous capture of Lough Gur (in May, 1600) is particularly described.

Lough Gur and the surrounding district was forfeited with the rest

of the Desmond possessions, and became the residence of Mr. Baylee, who went into Ireland as a confidential agent to the Fane family. And the island of Knockadoon is still held by the representative of the Baylees, under the Count de Salis, the present proprietor; to whom the estate descended in right of his mother, who was a daughter of Lord Fane. In consequence of the state of civil warfare in which Ireland was involved, the Black Castle was the dwelling of the Baylee family until after the surrender of Limerick. About the year 1700* Mr. John Baylee built the present dwelling-house, in the fashion of the period, adjacent to the castle.

Having now briefly described Lough Gur, and glanced at its recent history, I come to the object of this communication; to give some account of the numerous Druidical remains by which it is surrounded. With the view of facilitating my account, I beg to refer to the accompanying sketch of Lough Gur (Plate I.) which, though made from recollection, will, I trust, be sufficiently accurate for the purpose.

And here it is but justice to Mr. Twiss (although his name as an Irish tourist has become a term of reproach) to mention that the first notice of these remains occurs in his "Tour in Ireland," published in 1775.

"I made an excursion," says Mr. Twiss, "of nine miles on the road to Cork, to see three circles of stones, supposed to have been thus placed by the Druids. They are near a small lake called Gur; the principal of which is about 150 feet in diameter, and consists of 40 stones, of which the largest is 13 feet long, 6 broad, and 4 thick. These kinds of circles are to be met with in many parts of Ireland. Several are described and engraved in the 'Louthiana,' to which I refer. Near these on a hill is a small cromlech."

In 1785 the celebrated John Wesley appears to have visited these circles near the road, from the following passage in his Journal:

"Saturday, May 14.—I found a far greater curiosity: a large Druidical temple. I judged by my eye that it was not less than 100 yards in diameter; and it was, if I remember right, full as entire as that at Stonehenge, or that at Stanton Drue. How our ancestors could bring, or even heave these enormous stones, what modern can comprehend!"

Ferrar (a bookseller in Limerick), who in 1787 published a "History of Limerick," censures Dr. Campbell, author of the "Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland," for omitting to mention "the Druidical ruin" near Lough Gur, but contents himself with merely quoting Twiss.

I think mention is made of these circles in a posthumous publication by the unfortunate Mr. Trotter, entitled "Walks through Ireland,"

* On a pier of the stable gateway is sculptured the initials of Henry, the son of John and probably Susanna Baylee.

but, as far as my recollection serves, it is little more than a very slight notice.*

In Fitzgerald's and M'Gregor's "History of Limerick," published in 1826, the following account is given of those circles, when treating on the parish of Fedamore :

"Beyond the village of Grange, close to the public road from Limerick to Cork, on the left, are three curious stone circles. The first is 45 yards in diameter, and consists at present of 65 large upright stones, but there were formerly many more. One of these stones is 13 feet high, 7 feet broad, and 4 feet thick. The entire circle is surrounded by a sloping bank about 12 feet in breadth and 6 in height. At a short distance to the north of this is another circle 50 yards in diameter, consisting of 72 smaller stones standing, and a little to the east a third, which is but 17 yards in diameter, and composed of 15 large rocks standing erect. A few yards to the east of these is a large stone lying flat, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, 6 in height, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth, which is generally supposed to have been the altar for sacrifice."

So far Messrs. Fitzgerald and M'Gregor, whose further occasional references to the parts of this vast and interesting work I will note where they occur. At these circles near the mail-coach road, which have been thus slightly noticed by the tourists and topographers just mentioned, I propose commencing my account of the most numerous assemblage of Druidical remains in existence in any country, and with which I have discovered them to be in connection. Indeed, so obvious is the connection between the various circles, pillar-stones, altars, and similar vestiges, that an examination of one leads the eye to discover others ; and thus was I led on from one monument to another over a space of country the circumference of which I cannot estimate at less than ten miles. Beyond this, even at a distance of

* The following is the passage alluded to. It occurs in a letter dated from Limerick, Sept. 2, 1817 : "A mile or two from Bruff we discovered, in some fields adjoining the road, a large circular Druidical place of worship ; the diameter was 60 yards, and the circle was formed by large upright stones ; one very large one, much higher than the rest, about 18 feet, stood in it. A smaller circular spot, formed in the same manner, is not far from it. What may be the antiquity or exact uses of these circles I cannot pretend to say. I have called them Druidical in compliance with the general style of speaking. They may have been used by other ministers of religion before Druids were known ! The antiquity of the customs and manners of Ireland is perhaps not fully known ; it is beyond doubt very great. As a place of worship, where a simple and virtuous race offered their humble adoration to a great directing Deity, we viewed it with respect, and did not leave it hastily. The origin, dates, and peculiar rites of these rude circles I however leave to antiquarians. Several young Irishmen accompanied us to, and remained with us at them. They conversed with interest on their probable uses, and derived much pleasure from our remarks, to which they replied with great acuteness and feeling. But as our time was short, we hastened to leave these rude memorials of the piety of former days. Since their erection who is it can say how many centuries—how many generations have floated into the tide of futurity ?"

above fifteen miles in a direct line from the lake, I found stone circles and other Druidical works, between which and those at Lough Gur I was unable to establish a connection, although it appears probable that such once existed.

Notwithstanding that the circles near the Cork mail-coach road are pretty accurately described by Mr. Fitzgerald in the account quoted from his and Mr. M'Gregor's "History of Limerick," I will give my measurements of them, without, however, asserting that mine are the more correct of the two.

No. 1 is 27 yards from the road, 165 yards in circumference, and 46 yards (Fitzgerald says 45 yards) in diameter. Sixty-three (Fitzgerald says 65) stones remain. The measurement of the great stone, marked A, I found to be—

				ft. in.	Fitzgerald. ft.
Height ...	...	...	...	9 6	13
Circumference ...	...	...	...	20 10	
Breadth ...	...	...	...	7 0	7
Thickness ...	...	...	...	4 0	4

The circle No. 2 is 46 yards north of No. 1. I found the circumference to be 184 yards, the diameter 54 yards (Fitzgerald says 50).

The third circle, according to my measurement, is 74 yards in circumference, and measured 55 feet 7 inches in diameter; Fitzgerald makes it only 51 feet, although we agree in the number of stones, viz., 15.

Some large stones, the dimensions of one of which is given by Fitzgerald, lie on the east of the circle No. 2, without any obvious connection, and are marked in the plan.

In the centre or largest circle, No. 2, I did not without some trouble make out 69 stones (Fitzgerald's number is 72), from many being much sunk in the ground, and overgrown with weeds and brambles. I was informed that twelve of the largest stones had been recently taken away from the circle, and broken up to repair the road.

Many of the stones which compose the southern circle (No. 1) are considerably larger than those in any other of the circles about Lough Gur. On the largest (marked A), where a difference of 2 feet 6 inches exists between Mr. Fitzgerald's and my measurements, as to the height, I should observe that a countryman told me he had seen a hole which was dug by the side of this stone to the depth of upwards of 6 feet from the surface, by some persons who had dreamed that money was buried under it, without their being able to come at its base.

Of the smallest of these three circles, although Mr. Fitzgerald says it is composed of "fifteen large rocks," I can decidedly state that the average size of the stones is less than those of the other circles.

And now for objects which have hitherto either nearly or entirely

escaped observation. About 160 yards in a north-east direction from the smallest circle (No. 3) is a single stone, marked B, and in the same direction, about 100 yards further, within an inclosure called Croker's Paddock, stands the great pillar stone, generally observed to be in connection with stone circles, marked C.

The measurement of the stone B is—

Height	...	...	...	...	ft.	in.
					5	0
Circumference	...	...	...	...	17	6
Breadth	...	...	...	...	6	6
Thickness	...	...	...	...	4	0

The measurement of C is—

Circumference of the base	...	...	...	...	ft.	in.
					17	0
Greatest circumference	...	...	...	...	18	9
Broadest face	...	...	...	...	6	4
Height	...	...	...	...	11	9

The great stone C is situated upon the west side of a rising ground, the opposite descent of which forms the shore of the lake; the smaller end is placed in the ground, and it inclines to the west. The soil of Croker's Paddock is entirely limestone, but this great pillar-stone is a hard breschia, which would take a high polish. It may here be worth particular remark, as I found the observation of much use in carrying on my investigation, that the stone used in this prodigious Druidical work is generally different from that to be procured on the spot.

Proceeding along the southern shore of Lough Gur by a road which strikes off from the mail-coach road at a point called Holy Cross, on gaining the first rising ground, distant probably about half a mile from the circles just mentioned, I observed some large stones in a field on the right of the road, which induced me to examine the place. The first of these I found to be a large stone of a triangular shape, supported by three smaller stones, marked in the plan D, and represented in Plate II. in two points of view. The length of the tabular stone is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet; at the larger end it measures 6 feet across, and at the smaller, 1 foot. One of the supporters measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, and another $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the third, which appears to be the largest, I was unable to measure, from its being completely covered by the tabular stone.

This altar is called by the country people Labigdiarmud (pronounced Labigyermud), or Edward's Bed. At the distance of about 50 or 60 yards south of the altar there are three large stones marked E and F. Two of these are very close to each other, and they measure respectively,

			ft.	in.		in.
Length	...	...	8	6		7 6
Breadth	...	...	4	0		3 0

Returning to the road in a north-easterly direction, about 40 or 50 yards from the altar, I found two large stones marked G, in Plate I. and represented in Plate II.

Their respective measurements are—

		No. 1.	No. 2.
		ft. in.	ft. in.
Length	... ..	8 0	5 6
Breadth	... ..	3 6	3 6
Depth	... ..	1 9	2 0

The ground on which this altar and these stones are situated is called Ballynagillough, or, as it was translated to me, Hag's town;* and I was told that there had formerly been a nunnery here, and that some stone coffins had been recently dug up in the altar field.†

Some old walls‡ and trenches are still to be seen near a farmhouse, marked in the plan. Archdale, in his "Monasticon Hibernicum," mentions the nunnery of Negillagh or Monaster ni calligh near Lough Gur, which was dedicated to St. Catherine for the canonesses of St. Augustine.

On the left of the road is the new church, now in ruins, and from the base of the eminence on which it is situated, extending along the southern shore of the lake, various Druidical works, marked H, are apparent; but it was out of my power distinctly to trace them. Three circles, however, are quite evident. That marked No. 1 is 20 yards in diameter, and at present consists of fifteen stones. No. 2 is 13 yards in diameter, and I counted eight stones; from this to the water two parallel lines of similar stones extend. No. 3 measures 8 yards in diameter, and consists of seven stones. Between this and the new church, a serpentine passage, formed by parallel stones, may be traced, which terminates in the Red Bog, a track of low ground about a quarter of a mile in breadth. Beyond (that is to say, to the east of) the circle, No. 1, H, several very large masses of stone appear mixed with smaller ones, but I was unable to define any particular form; and still further along the shore of the lake, two circles, and other remains, are to be discerned.

The side of the road opposite to that on which these numerous vestiges are situated, rises rather abruptly, and is of a bold rocky

* I should be inclined to translate this—Nun's town. *Cailleach* in Irish signifies a hag, or old woman (in Hebrew *Calach* is old age); and as old women wore their heads covered up, so the name was applied to hooded nuns.

† Speaking of Lough Gur, Messrs. Fitzgerald and M'Gregor observe, "On Bailenallycailleah Hill in this neighbourhood is a cromlech, near which a stone coffin was found a few years since, with a human skeleton. At less than half a mile south of this are two others, one of which has been lately broken down by a farmer, who had two of the stones taken to make pillars for his gateway."

‡ "But what renders this place most remarkable is that within a few yards of the abbey are still to be seen the old walls of the house that belonged to a branch of the family of Brownes of Carnas, so famous for their exploits in Russia and Germany."—Fitzgerald and M'Gregor.

character. Here several Druidical stones are evident, but my examination was too hurried to allow me to ascertain their relative positions.

The most remarkable, however, are those called by the country people "Labig yermuddagh a Grana," or Ned and Grace's bed. This bed was a complete oblong chamber formed by great stones, and covered by vast flags. It is marked I in the plan, and in Plate II. is a sketch of its present appearance. The measurements of three of the largest stones, marked Nos. 1, 2, 3, is—

No.	...	...	Height. ft. in.	Breadth. ft. in.	Depth. ft. in.	End. ft. in.
1	...	...	7 6	3 6	1 6	—
2	...	...	7 6	6 0	1 4	3 0
3	...	...	2 6	5 6	1 0	—

The length of the chamber was $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 6. A countryman named Garrett Punch, nearly opposite whose cabin it is situated, told me that an old woman had resided in it for many years, and on her death the covering stones were thrown off, and it was left in its present state by "money diggers," who, to use my informant's words, "only found some burned bones in an old jug, that surely was not worth one brass farthing."

Above and about Labig yermuddagh a Grana there were several great stones, but I could trace no decided forms, although I am inclined to think a straight road between rows of about thirty large stones, which have been displaced, led up to a mass of rock resting upon four supporters, and marked K. This tabular rock measured in circumference $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet, in breadth 6 feet, and in thickness 2.

From hence I proceeded over some untilled rocky ground, in a south-west direction, towards a singular natural formation, situated on a descent to the Red Bog, called Carriganahin,* or the Mass Rock, of the appearance of which the sketch in Plate II. will convey an idea. Among the natural rocks between K and the Mass Rock, there are evidently several great stones of Druidical origin, but not to be clearly defined.

Many superstitious tales are current among the peasantry respecting this rock, and it was not without an evident feeling of awe that a countryman who accompanied me approached it. He blessed himself more than once, spoke in an undertone, and at length cautiously pointed out to me what he called the holy chamber, a hollow in the rock, with evident marks of fire, and from which he affirmed there was a passage into the centre, although I could perceive no opening whatever. He, however, insisted that such existed, as he knew a man who had been taken into the grand room within, which resembled a

* I have written this as it was pronounced. *Nahin* should be, correctly speaking, *nahim*, the Irish for covenant, law, Naidm, etc.

chapel. This superstitious veneration may be attributed to the remarkable and artificial appearance of the rock itself, as well as to the tradition connected with its name, which is said to have been derived from a priest having regularly celebrated mass in the holy chamber, at a period when the Roman Catholic religion was under proscription.*

Returning from the Mass Rock to the road which leads along the shore of the lake already described, I found many Druidical stones, at least so I judged them to be, as they were of a different stone from that of the soil. Three of the largest were distant about 8 yards from each other, and measured

	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.
	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
In length	8 6	8 0	9 0
Breadth	3 6	7 6	7 0
Thickness	2 6	2 6	2 0

Proceeding eastward by the road, about three-quarters of a mile brought me to the little village of Lough Gur Cross; and then turning to the northward, or nearly parallel to the Cork and Limerick mail-coach road, immediately on my left, I found the tabular stone L, supported by three stones, and represented in Plate II. It measures in length 7 feet; in breadth 6 at one end, and 4 at the other, and is about a foot in thickness. The largest of its supporters is nearly of the same dimensions, measuring 7 feet in length, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, and 18 inches in thickness. Several large stones and masses of rock were lying near it, but my attention was drawn from them to the rising ground which lay before me and between the road and the lake. This eminence is called Carrig-galla,† and upon it I found two circular works, marked M, constructed with regularly squared stones, resembling those used in building quays, placed and fitted one to the other, but without any appearance of mortar having been used. The height of this circular wall in some places may have been nearly 10 feet, and it seemed as if built about a mound of earth, as the grass-covered inclosed space was level with the highest part.‡

* "Near New Church before mentioned, on the south side of Lough Gur, is a very large high rock full of chasms and hollows, called in Irish the Mass Rock; which name it received from the circumstance of Mass being said in a hollow of this rock during the civil war of the seventeenth century, when its public celebration was prohibited by the English Parliament."—Fitzgerald and M'Gregor.

I may add that the priest is traditionally said to have been Dr. Keating, the Irish historian.

† *Carrig*, a rock. I am inclined to think *galla* should be *Ceallac*, contention, war, strife, from the appearance of the works, which may be presumed to be for military purposes.

‡ "On an eminence joining the lake on the east similar fortifications (to those on Knockfennel) are found, surrounded with immense rough rocks, the ascent to which from the lake side is very rugged, difficult, and high."—Fitzgerald and M'Gregor.

The road runs through a valley between Carrig-galla and the opposite hill of Knockruah (or the Red Hill), on which, distant about a quarter of a mile in a direct line, I found three stone circles, marked N. Of these No. 1 was the most perfect. It measured in circumference 192 yards, and had two or perhaps three circles of stones within the outward one. The centre of these circles measured 14 yards in diameter.

No. 2, to the north-east of No. 1, is distant from it 24 yards, and measures 43 yards in circumference, and 10 in diameter.

No. 3, which lies 43 yards south of No. 2, is 37 yards distant from No. 1, and measures 28 yards in diameter, and 113 in circumference.

From the circles on Knockruah I ascended by the road in a north-west direction about a quarter of a mile. The hill up which this road leads is called Ardacolleagh, or the Height of the Halter, from having been formerly used as a place of execution by the Earls of Desmond. Here, in making the road a few years since, some stone coffins were found and several bones. In a field called Park a legaune, or Stone-field, to the left of the road, I observed several stones lying about, and remains of intrenchments, but nothing sufficient to warrant the conclusion that they were of Druidical origin, except a pillar-stone, marked O, which evidently appeared to be in connection with the circles on Knockruah. The measurement of this stone is—in height, 9 feet 4 inches; circumference, 14 feet 6 inches; breadth, 6 feet 9 inches; thickness, 1 foot 1 inch.

Descending from Ardacolleagh, I approached the island of Knockadon by the causeway formerly defended by the Black Castle. On my left I perceived three or four Druidical stones, probably part of a small circle, marked P.

This island, the Druidical works on which are so evidently in connection with those by which they are surrounded, rises with a double crown. That furthest from Mr. Baylee's residence is called the Back Hill. The nearest hill has a very small circular cairn on its summit, and in the valley between this and the Back Hill there are some curious natural masses of rock, not unlike the formation of Carriganahin or the Mass Rock before mentioned; particularly one which resembled a castle with circular towers so closely that it was some time before I was convinced it was not artificial.

Near this rock, and running through the hollow between the two hills, a road or boundary, formed of large stones, may be traced descending to the water.

On the Back Hill I came to a circle of small stones, No. 1, which measured 35 yards in diameter, and 120 in circumference. There were six circles within the outward one, at about a yard from each other, and this was about the space between each stone, so that from the single stone in the centre it had the appearance of being entirely filled up with stones.

Close to the south side of this circle were four stones similar to those of which it is formed. The bearings of this circle were remarkable, being in a direct line with the Mass Rock on the south, with the pillar-stone in Croker's Paddock on the west, and on the north with the pillar-stone in Park a legaune.

About 800 yards distant from No. 1 was a simple stone circle marked No. 2, which measures 18 yards in diameter and 84 in circumference. From this circle No. 3 is distant 38 yards. It is situated upon a very abrupt descent of the hill (probably 100 feet perpendicular), and a section would present nearly the hollow quarter of a circle, as its lower edge almost touches the water. No. 3 measures in circumference 180 yards, and 48 in diameter. It appears to have been a compound, like No. 1, of circles within circles, but it is by no means in so perfect a state. Above it rises some fine craggy rock, in the east side of which there is a natural cave. The entrance is very low and narrow, but I was informed by Mr. Baylee that this cave was spacious within; and I have since been told that at various periods of danger, even so late as the year 1798, it has been used as a place of retreat.*

Not far from this there is another natural cave, called the Red Cellar. Beneath the rock in which the former is situated, and close to the circle No. 3, are two semicircles, and a straight wall of stones which descends to the shore.

A considerable hill called Knockfennel forms the north-western shore of Lough Gur. Immediately at its base there is a square earthen work (R), and on one of its points a grass-covered cairn (S), composed mostly of very small stones, although some squared masses, like those on Carrig-galla, were to be seen. The diameter of this cairn is 45 yards; and I was told that one precisely similar is on another and a higher point of Knockfennel (T).†

* Fitzgerald and M'Gregor state: "On the north side of the hill of Knockadoon is a cave about 22 feet in depth, and generally about 12 feet broad and 10 high. The mouth of the cave, which is 4 feet broad and 7 high, is hidden by an alder tree. The ascent is steep and rough, occasioned by huge rocks that have fallen in every direction towards the lake; and over the cave are irregular layers of large projecting rocks, rising about 20 feet above it."

† "On the west pinnacle of Knockfennel is one of the strongest Danish forts in the country; it is circular, and about 360 feet in circumference. The wall that surrounds it is 10 feet in thickness, and must have been proportionately high, from the quantity of stone that has fallen outside. That part of the wall that still remains is built of large stones nearly 3 feet every way, regularly fitted to each other, and the interstices filled up with smaller ones; but there is no sign of mortar. From this down to the lake walls of similar construction extend, about 60 yards asunder, to the north side of the hill, where they terminate at some deep marsh or morass; these walls are connected by others of the same kind. On the east point of Knockfennel, which is very high, there is a smaller fortification, and along the valley, which lies between those high points, the remains of walls can be traced, terminating in like manner at the lake to the south and the deep grounds to the north."—Fitzgerald and M'Gregor.

Such is the brief description of the antiquities of Lough Gur. Along the road leading from its Cross towards Kilmallock, other circles and Druidical works are obvious, under a hill called Knockderk, marked Q in the plan.

Subsequently to my visit to Lough Gur, I discovered another Labigermuddah or Bed, as it was called, at the distance of about 15 miles on Cromwell Hill; and about 4 miles nearer Lough Gur, a stone circle (through which a road had been carried) at Carrigeens, or the Little Rocks, a name evidently derived from it.

I cannot conclude without expressing regret that I am unable to furnish a more correct account. In some places I have been obliged to trust entirely to memory; and when speaking even of the cardinal points, may possibly be in error, as I was without a compass, and only guided by my general knowledge of the country.

Let me, however, indulge a hope that what I have stated may draw the attention of persons possessed of greater knowledge on the subject, and with the necessary means at command, to give a detailed and satisfactory description of these remarkable remains.

Yours, venerable Sir, very devotedly,
T. CROFTON CROKER.

Druid Altar in Guernsey.

[1796, *Part I.*, p. 373.]

I send you the drawing of one of the Druid's altars at Guernsey (fig. 2). There are two more in that part of the island which is called *Le Clos du Val*; but the one I send you is the principal.

Surface of altar at the *Clos du Val*, called *La Pierre de Dehus*, perhaps from *Deus*. It points east and west. There are three stones, all inclining to the north. The stones that support the two greatest form an exact square.

Dimensions of the Great Stone.—Length, 15 feet 6 inches; breadth, 7 feet 4½ inches; thickness, 4 feet 5½ inches, south side; ditto, 2 feet 5 inches, north side.



Miscellaneous Antiquities :
British Period.



MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES.
BRITISH PERIOD

—•••••—
On the Clothing of the Ancient Britons.

[1830, *Part II.*, pp. 291-294.]

IN the year 1783, some particulars were communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by the Countess of Moira, and published in the *Archæologia*, vol. vii., p. 90, relative to a human skeleton, and the garments that were found thereon, dug out of a bog in the county of Down, in the autumn of 1780.

This circumstance was most assuredly of a very extraordinary nature, and was calculated to excite much attention. But I am not aware that the public have yet been led to appreciate this discovery in its true light, or to the full extent of its importance. I think not. And it is under this impression that I take up my pen to offer you a few remarks, which I am inclined to hope may be acceptable.

In order that the circumstances may be distinctly understood, I will first transcribe a statement which has lately appeared in the public prints, and then proceed with my remarks.

“The Countess of Moira, in a letter published in the *Archæologia*, mentions that a human body was found under moss eleven feet deep, in an estate in Ireland, belonging to the Earl. The body was completely clothed in garments made of hair, which were quite fresh, and not at all decayed; and though hairy vestments evidently point to a period extremely remote, before the introduction of sheep and the use of wool, yet the body and clothes were in no way impaired.”

I regard this discovery as one of manifest importance, because it tends, and in a most remarkable degree, to establish the veracity of those mouldering remnants of the records of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, that are now rapidly hastening to decay. I mean the scattered remnants of the Scythio-Gaelic manuscripts of *ERI* (Ireland), and the Celtic of the *CYMRY* (Welsh). Nor shall I despair of adverting, with some success, to the records of classic history, in support of those truths which our native histories afford us, so far as the limits of my cursory paper will allow.

One of the first circumstances that occurs to my mind, in perusing the particulars of this communication, is the assumed idea that the vestments being composed of hair instead of wool, must point to a period long anterior to the use of wool, and consequently to the introduction of sheep into Ireland.

In my work on British Quadrupeds, published a few years ago, I have entered into the history of that useful animal the sheep; and had the intended supplements to those works appeared, the world, I conceive, would not have now remained in doubt as to the sheep being an aboriginal or indigenous quadruped of the British isles, and consequently that it did not owe its existence in Ireland, or in Britain, to any foreign introduction. Among the Isles of Britain, I comprehend the land of Ireland on the west, and Great Britain eastward, with many other lands once connected with them, that exist no longer, the remembrance of which is preserved, however, in the historical memorials of the ancient Britons, and the Irish as well as Saxons.

It is not likely that those researches which I have now in manuscript will be ever published; and if therefore the following observations, selected therefrom, should be the means of dissipating errors, or misconceptions, yourself and the public are perfectly welcome to them, and the object of my writing will be fully answered.

I should imagine it could be no matter of difficulty to define the animal of whose fur these vestments of hair is composed; and this known, would assist conjecture, if not conduct to facts. The catacombs of Egypt furnish the remains of quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, and insects, all which at this remote distance of time enable us at once to speak with certainty as to the identical beings to which they have belonged; and a more explicit mention of the kind of hair of which these vestments are composed, would in like manner assist us in the elucidation of this remarkable object of curiosity. I have said enough to show that, if composed of the wool of sheep, these vestments, in my opinion, might be nevertheless of very ancient date and even anterior to any fabrication composed of other materials the growth of Britain.

It may be remembered that a writer of the last century, the celebrated Mr. Pennant, in accordance with popular prejudice, has advanced that the ancient inhabitants of Britain, if not absolutely destitute of clothing, had no other dress than a sheep's skin hung upon their shoulders; the fleecy side of which was worn next to the skin of the wearer in winter for the sake of warmth, and for coolness the reverse side in summer.

Whence ideas so humiliating to the character of that hardy race of men, who were our forefathers, have arisen, it would be beneath us to inquire. I shall be content to say that the assertion is wholly destitute of truth. And if Mr. Pennant, the asserter of such absurdities, and who either did possess, or is believed to have possessed, an ample

knowledge of the Greek and Latin writers, had read them with attention, he would have discovered abundant reason for withholding such assertions.

The page of classic history will assure us, that at the very period to which such remarks allude, as to the destitute condition of the ancient Britons, the classic writers were reproaching the effeminacy of their own warriors for their indulgence in British and Gaulish luxuries. And we have a distinct reference to this fact in the woollen cloths or mats of British manufacture introduced by the Romans into their camps, because before that period it was said the Roman warrior was contented to rest his limbs stretched out upon the bare ground, or upon a few dried leaves. We have thus a decided indication of the woollen cloths of British fabrication, as mats and carpets, and articles of bedding, among the Romans, and we have testimony enough of the use of woollen as articles of dress among the Britons. Nor is Grecian history altogether silent as to the fabrication of felts made by the Britons, and to other circumstances of far more importance to the character of polished life. I cannot now enter upon quotations, or I should be under no difficulty in showing that a kind of cloth or felt, composed of hair, and hardened by being steeped in sour wine, was usually worn under the armour of brass or other metal by the Grecian heroes, and we have something like evidence that such felts were fabricated by the Britons. I further think I should be under no great difficulty in proving, that in very early ages, anterior to the invasion of Britain by the Romans, there were marts for the sale of woollen cloths, as well as tin, at a point of Ireland far more south than exists at present, and also in the western part of the principality of Dun-ma-niac, a tract of land once situated to the west of the Lizard's Point, the present extremity of Cornwall, both which in the lapse of ages have been lost in the sea. And something of the same kind may be identified from record to have existed on the Gaulish coast, the ancient Armorica, the Lower Brittany of our days (*Basse Bretagne* of the French); a tract inhabited in ancient times by the Celtic Britons, or, as now called, the Welsh, and which country was governed by the Welsh princes, as the ancient Cornwall was by those of Ireland. Thus in those remote days the Greeks and Romans were accustomed to resort to our shores for the sake of traffic, and this could not be for the purchase of sheepskins, since the sheep was an inhabitant of Greece and Italy as well as Britain, as every classic reader must be aware. Perhaps it may be less generally known that the arfang (or broad-tailed animal) of the Celtic Britons, the beaver of our days, was formerly an inhabitant of this country, and that the felt of the true beaver was among the ancients an article of much request, as it is among ourselves for hats to this day. The furs also of other quadrupeds were in use as articles of dress, as appears from the ancient laws of the Cymry, or Welsh; but the rank and condition of the

wearer was to be considered; the ermine could be worn only by the higher classes; that of the wild cat distinguished those of a lower grade in society. By the code of laws established by Howel Dola about the year 950, but which were in reality a concentration and revival of laws far more ancient, the clergy were permitted to wear catskin as a kind of fur or trimming, but nothing of greater cost. I could advance much more upon this subject, but enough I hope has been said to show that whether the vestments in which this body was found enveloped were of wool or hair, would not in any manner identify the period of the deposition of these mortal remains. The subsequent observations may, however, perhaps assist to explain the mystery in a manner still more satisfactory than the foregoing.

Those who have been at the trouble of investigating the ancient records of the land, which have survived to our time, will be aware that the governing princes of Ireland were always chosen by the voice of the people; and that the only restriction was, that they must be elected from certain families denominated the royal tribes or septs. And that among the number of those princes, one was chosen by all the States under the title of Erimoun, or supreme chief ruler; and it was the duty of this chief ruler to hear all complaints of the people against their respective princes, and if the alleged complaints were well founded, he was empowered to demand a force from each of the other princes collectively sufficient to subdue the tyrant, or to reduce him to a just observance of the laws established by the States. His life, except under peculiar circumstances of treason against these States, was safe; but if his oppressions over that portion of the people whom he had been chosen to govern demanded exemplary punishment, the Erimoun or supreme chief had the authority of those combined States to degrade him from the rank of princes. He was no longer allowed to wear the mantle or robe of seven colours by which the families of the royal tribes were distinguished, and his beard was shaven off; and by this mark of degradation he was reduced from the rank of princes to the condition of a slave. It will presently appear that the hair thus shaven or cut off from such degraded rulers, has been manufactured into a robe or vestment by the Erimoun or supreme chief, and worn by him as a testimony of his triumph over such oppressors. May we not, then, in this ancient custom identify the mystery of this circumstance which has excited so much curious speculation?

In taking this view of the subject, it may be presumed that I am considering these remains of mortality to be those of a man. But I should add that if it were otherwise, it would be no absolute proof against the probability of these conjectures. A body so invested in garments composed of hair might be that of a sovereign princess, who, in like manner, had triumphed over her enemies, and wore such robe as a testimony of her victories. It is true that the male line of

the royal tribes in Ireland were usually chosen to rule, yet at the same time there were exceptions. And did the limits of this inquiry permit, I could point out a family of the ancient dynasty of Irish princes, in which the line of succession had been in the female branch, and whose surname to this day demonstrates the fact. And it may be added, that it was by the surname only that those tribes were recognised or indicated, nor did the introduction of Christianity in subsequent ages occasion any alteration of the ancient custom; the reigning monarchs of Ireland were distinguished only by their surname to the latest times.

It was from these ancient laws of Ireland, with regard to female succession, that the laws of Scotland emanated, and even those of Britain took their origin. The renowned Boadicea, who so gallantly, though so unsuccessfully, resisted the Roman invaders of the country, is a demonstrative evidence of the right of female succession among the ancient Britons; nor was the right of female succession to the throne of Scotland, according to its ancient laws, more disputable than that of English princesses who have subsequently sat on the throne of Britain, in conformity with the laws of England. Were I at liberty to proceed further, I could adduce sufficient proof of this right of succession in the female line deriving its origin, in the first instance, from the parental care of an Irish chieftain for his only daughter, in contradistinction to the laws of the neighbouring Gaulish states, which recognised only the male line, and of which we have an evidence in the laws of France to this day. Those conversant with the ancient history of that country need not be informed that the territories of modern France combine a number of the Gaulish states with the Celtic of Armorica, or Lower Brittany. This digression may be requisite, to show that whether these remains, or any others that may be discovered hereafter so invested in garments of hair, should prove to be those of male or female, will in no manner discountenance my first approximation.

Perhaps in venturing so far into the retrospect of the ancient history of the land of Britain, my remarks may have awakened some attention. I hope they have; and that it will hence become obvious that there are other historians of this country that deserve consideration, as well as those whose names are more familiar, and that the testimony of those least known may best assist us in the research to which our attention is now directed. My attention so far has been confined chiefly to the customs of ancient Ireland, and I wish now to add that the testimony of the ancient historic evidences of the Cambro-Britons proves that the customs and laws of these people bore a striking analogy with those of ancient Ireland. Nor will this similitude appear remarkable, when it is remembered that the dynasty of Irish princes had, at an early period, filled the throne of sovereignty among the states of Britain. It was this line of princes

that gave the Britons their immortal Caradoc, better known as the Caractacus of Livy; and the Gael-na-Gael of Albanac, or ancient Scotland, which the Romans have so adroitly neutralized from the Gaelic language into Galgalus.

We now approach a point which I conceive may tend in a great measure, if not entirely, to elucidate the mystery under contemplation. We read in those remains of ancient British history, the Triads, of a powerful prince of the Britons named Rhita-Gawr, who is ranked as one of the three opposers of tyranny, that is, of the wrongdoings of petty tyrants, over whom, as supreme chief, he held the balance of power in Britain, like the Erimoun of Ireland: nor does it appear to be altogether improbable that he might be himself of the race of Ireland, whom the Britons had chosen for the purpose of subduing rebellion among the native princes. Of Rhita-Gawr it is recorded that he had reduced a number of these princes to the rank of slavery, and having cut off their beards as a mark of degradation, ordered a vestment to be made of the hair, and which robe he wore as a trophy of his victories over them during life, and might possibly have been buried therein.

If these remarks should tend to explain the mystery of the discovery of a body so enveloped in vestments composed of hair, I would further add that the mode of sepulture among the Irish, as with the Britons, varied according to the circumstances of their death. The warrior who fell in battle, if his party remained masters of the field, was most commonly interred upon the spot, and "the stone raised over him," *i.e.*, the cromlech; or if the warrior fell in an unpropitious contest with unsullied honour, his body was generally ransomed from the victors, and deposited by his friends in some other place. There are instances on record of the body of a favourite chief or warrior having been ransomed for its weight in gold, and thus acquiring the epithet of a "*golden corpse*." This relates, so far as our information goes, to the Cambro-Britons; but it was probably the same with the Irish. Among the monarchs of Ireland, we have an instance of one at an early period, who had died upon his bed covered with an outstretched skin of a marine animal that had been caught in the contiguous sea, and which I conceive to be a kind of seal. He died from the ill effects of the damp of the skin, and being sewn up in the skin, was interred therein. This interment of the body in the hairy skin of an animal of the seal tribe would not be very different from that in vestments of hair. The whole, collectively considered, seems to lead to a conclusion that these mortal remains which we have been considering, are those of a human being who had either fallen accidentally into the moss, or who had far more probably been interred therein, if the moss were not of more recent formation, and which to me appears to be the most plausible conjecture of either. The vestments composed of hair may

further lead to some conclusion, for if it were of human hair it would induce persuasion of the high rank of the individual, and afford an evidence of an early age, though not of one so very remote as has been generally believed, nor for the same reason.

E. DONOVAN.

Ancient British Shield.

[1865, *Part II.*, pp. 770-772.]

During the very low water in the Thames in the month of September, 1864, a boatman perceived in the bed of the river between Hampton and Walton a round object, the nature of which he was at first unable to discern, but after using his boat-hook for some time, he brought to the surface the bronze shield, a drawing of which I send you.

It is a tarian or shield of the ancient Britons, and may safely be considered as belonging to the troops of Cassivelaunus, who opposed Caesar's passage across the river at or near that place in 45 B.C.

The discovery of this relic adds one more to the three examples already known. Two have been found in Wales, and one previously in the bed of the Thames.

It is ornamented with twelve concentric circles, which, like the nineteen found on the Welsh types, may or may not have an astronomic reference. Between each circle is a number of studs, but these are larger and less numerous than those on the Welsh shields, and differ materially from the one previously found in the Thames, so that the specimen is altogether unique.

The word "tarian" is supposed to be derived from the Welsh verb *tariana*, "to clash," and under that name is referred to in many a Welsh adage :

"Goreu tarian Cyviawnder."

"The best shield is righteousness."

"Nid amzifyn ond tarian."

"The only defence is a shield."

But these and other lines I might quote convey ideas altogether too modern to be satisfactory, and I cannot see why the Tyrian merchants who first imported these things into Britain before the first century might not have given their name to them. It is also called in the Welsh *ysgwyd*. This, however, is only the Latin *scutum*, but under this term it is frequently mentioned by the bardic writers of the sixth and later centuries,—

"Oez ysgwn ysgwyd twn."

"Uplifted was the broken shield."—*Cynselw*.

They are also said to have been fabricated of gold,—

"Aer ysgwn aur ysgwyd oez."

"The stay of slaughter with the golden shield was he."—*Blesyn Vars*.

No such thing, however, is yet known to have been discovered, and golden may only refer to the colour of the brass, and not to the material of the shield's construction, a conclusion the colour of this one would seem to warrant; but the loss of the thirteen first books of Ammianus Marcellinus has left so much darkness around everything that relates to the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain that the frequent recurrence of their remains betraying great advancement in the arts, contrasted with our previously formed ideas of an utterly barbarous people, is most perplexing. Nor are the few notices of Britain we possess more consistent. Gildas, speaking of them in the fourth century, says that the Romans gave "energetic counsel to the timorous natives, and left them patterns by which to manufacture their arms;" an assertion quite irreconcilable with the numerous defensive arms discovered in the Thames, which are evidently of the period of Cæsar's invasion and before the first century.

Herodian, a Roman soldier and a Greek historian of the middle of the third century, in his description of the Britons in the time of Severus, says: "They are a very warlike and bloody people; their arms are only a *narrow shield* and a lance with a sword that hangs at their naked side." Of the sword and the lance we have abundant instances, but how are we to reconcile the narrow shield with the circular form only discovered? The author says he was an eyewitness to what he has written, and yet he makes no mention of the axe or celt, by far the most numerous of the British weapons known.

The memory of Cæsar's conflicts was long preserved among the Britons, and is alluded to in a curious ode in praise of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, composed by Llygad Gwr about the year 1270:

"— like Julius Cæsar is the rapid progress of the arms of Gruffydd's heir,
— his crimson lance is stained with gore."

It is scarcely worth while reviving the old disputed question of the precise locality of Cæsar's passage across the Thames [see Note 20], but I was much struck with the appearance of Moreford (pointed out to me by Mr. Milner, of East Molesey, the owner of the shield) not far from the spot where it was discovered. Moreford is clearly nothing but the Welsh *Mawr-for*, "the great pass," but this spot does not seem to have excited the attention it would appear to deserve.

I am, etc. A. C. KIRKMANN.

Bronze Weapons.

[1847, *Part II.*, p. 441.]

A short time ago, in quarrying stones near Saint Fagan's for the South Wales Railway, were discovered at a depth of about 3 feet from the surface two spear-heads, five battle-axes, and a small piece

of the blade of a sword. The spear-heads and battle-axes are of copper; the former are about a foot long; and the latter average in weight from 10 to 16 ounces.

Antient British Torques.

[1800, pp. 817, 818.]

Travelling lately through Hertfordshire, I was shown a drawing (unfortunately all that now remains) of the British *torques*; and, having collected some information relative to the discovery of this very curious and singular ornament of our ancestors, I think it desirable to preserve the remembrance of its discovery; for which purpose I send you a reduced copy (exactly one-third size) of the original torques, which, I doubt not, you will have engraved speedily (see fig. 2). It may not be superfluous just to mention here, that the torques (used both by the Gauls and Britons) was worn round the neck; and, being only worn by persons of distinction, was generally of gold. Boadicea had a great one of that precious metal; and we read that Virdomarus wore one that was fastened behind with hooks, and which fell off when the conqueror cut off his head. The subject of our present inquiry was most probably forced open sufficiently to pass over the neck, and then closed, there being no appearance of any fastening; and, from the circumstance of its having been broken at *a*, where the soldering appeared very distinct, and with all the rudeness of a very early period, it is not improbable that it might have been broken by this very means.

This choice morsel of antiquity was found in May, 1787, by one Izaak Bennett, a labourer, upon a farm near Mardox, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Ware, in "hollow ditching," a piece of land called the Brick-ground. He discovered it about 2 feet below the surface, lying in a bed of strong clay, and, through haste in taking it up, broke it where marked in the drawing *b*. The general dimension of the torques was $\frac{5}{16}$ ths of an inch; at the extremities nearly 1 inch, and the ends somewhat concave. The whole weight 13 oz. 15 dwts. Troy, and the quality of the gold good.

In a few days after the discovery of this ornament, the labourer brought it to a watch-maker in Ware; who, desirous of knowing the fineness of the gold before purchasing it, sent a specimen to London for the purpose of having it assayed. In the interim, perhaps from a fear of having it claimed by the lord of the manor, the poor fellow sold his prize to a Jew for £20 (scarce half its value in metal); and being instantly consigned to the crucible, every trace of this great curiosity had been lost; but, fortunately, the watch-maker made a correct drawing of it while in his possession, preserving also the memoranda from which the present account is principally composed. No. 3 is an enlarged drawing of the ornament upon the two extremities.

Ancient British Collar, Found in Lancashire.[1843, *Part I.*, pp. 593-594.]

By the kind permission of the owner, James Dearden, of Orchard, Rochdale, Esq., I beg leave to avail myself of your old and valued publication to record the discovery of an ancient British collar (see the plate annexed), and which, as a perfectly unique specimen of the arts amongst the aboriginal inhabitants of our island, will, I trust, be interesting to your general readers, and perhaps help to throw some additional light on the habits and customs of the Britons, prior to their entire subjugation by the Romans.

This most interesting relic of antiquity was found by some labourers in removing the decayed trunk of an old oak tree, near Handle Hall, the ancient seat of the Dearden family; under the roots of the tree was observed a large flag-stone, which it seems curiosity induced the labourers to disturb, when beneath this flag, and lying immediately on the surface, the collar was discovered.

The material is of bronze or mixed metal, that apparently differs in no particular from the swords, celts, spear heads, and other known works of art manufactured by the Britons or their instructors the Phœnicians. It is made to fit the naked neck, the opening being between the first and second bead on each side, and weighs 1 lb. 5 oz. The workmanship is exquisite, and in some respects resembles that of the British corslet of gold, discovered in Flintshire in 1833, and figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi., p. 428. In general appearance the beads or knobs imitate the twisted torques, and the zig-zag ornament, scarcely ever omitted in works of British art, is carried round the outer edge with a beauty not to be surpassed.

That this great curiosity is correctly attributed to the ancient Britons may be affirmed with tolerable certainty. Independently of the material of which it is constructed, and in which so many British remains are continually discovered, its fabrication is strongly characteristic of the best works of British art already known, and the abundant authority for the use of such an ornament amongst the Britons seems to put the question beyond a doubt. When Caractacus was taken before Claudius, the spoils in bracelets, rings, chains, and other personal ornaments of gold carried before him, were immense;* and we are told that in the north, where gold was not to be procured, bronze and even iron was used instead, of which the Britons were not a little proud, whence Strutt infers the use of such ornaments amongst the Britons to have been of great antiquity.† Pliny expressly mentions the massy gold neck-chains of the women,‡ and Herodian tells us that the Britons wore collars made from the teeth of the sea-horse,

* "Tacit. *Annal.*" lib. 12, cap. 8.

† "Chronicle," vol. i. 275.

‡ "Nat. Hist." i. 33, c. 1.

as also from iron and bronze. [The remainder of the article is purely speculative, and is therefore not printed.]

A. C. KIRKMANN.

Antiquities Discovered near Bridgewater.

[1840, *Part II.*, pp. 187-188.]

A few weeks since, as workmen were cutting peat in the Edington Turbary near Bridgewater, they, at about 3 feet beneath the surface, discovered a deposit of British Antiquities, consisting of six celts, five knives, one torques, one armilla, one fibula, two rings, and a few other pieces, the uses of which do not appear. These antiquies are of brass, and in the best possible state of preservation. The celts are of the usual form, but vary in size; the torques is wreathed: the armilla and fibula fluted and slightly ornamented; the knives (if knives they are) were flat on the under surface, but ribbed on the upper to give them additional strength; one of these had never been brought to an edge, and is in the same perfect state as when taken from the mould in which it was cast. Of this and of the two rings I enclose drawings made to the actual size. I do not remember before seeing any articles like them.

The box in which these antiquies were enclosed was formed out of a solid piece of wood; it fell to pieces on exposure to the air.

Spear-heads, swords, and celts are often found in these bogs, but I am not aware of any number of such curiosities having until now been met with together.

These antiquies are in the possession of Mr. Murch, of Edington, on whose land they were found.

Yours, etc. SAMUEL HASELL.

Antique Ornaments.

[1841, *Part I.*, p. 82.]

As workmen were lately digging a new paint-pit at Llanlinna, near Amlwch, they discovered within 3 feet of the surface a stone urn or coffin, on opening which they found a human skeleton in a high state of preservation, measuring the extraordinary length of 7 feet 6 inches. The skeleton throughout was quite proportional to its length, and in very perfect condition. The urn appears to have been made from the Aberdovey limestone, and had the appearance of being much corroded by time. From the rude nature of this urn, it seems probable that the body had been first laid in the grave and limestone placed round its sides and on the top only, which, from the length of time they had lain under ground, had become cemented together.

A few days ago, a farmer discovered in a bank in a bog, in the townland of Kinnigo, near Armagh, a beautiful antique bulla. It is nearly the shape of a heart, and is made of fine gold. The back and

front are without ornament, but the sides are covered with fine twisted wire, ending in loops at the top. Along with it he found a spear-head, having a socket and holes for rivets; a celt, with socket and loop; and two rings of cast brass, a large and a small one, linked together. They are all in high preservation, and have been added to the collection of Mr. Corry, Armagh.

Antiquities in Belfast.

[1821, *Part II.*, p. 157.]

Two antique golden crescents of a very large size have lately been found in the neighbourhood of Belfast. They are of pure gold, and weigh about six ounces each. These relics, according to some antiquaries, were used as bells by the Druids in the celebration of their heathen ceremonies, and the very fine tone produced by striking the cup at the ends of the crescent seems to confirm that opinion. Near the spot where these crescents were discovered are the remains of two Druidical altars.

Celtic Remains in Dublin.

[1856, *Part II.*, p. 108.]

Several curious relics have been recently found within the town walls of ancient Dublin, such as singularly ornamented combs, bronze and iron fibulæ, and implements used in the manufacture of those curiously constructed wooden houses erected in that ancient locality at a very remote era. Among the articles enumerated is an antique-shaped signet-seal, supposed by a distinguished heraldic authority to have belonged to the Lord-Deputy Essex,—time of Elizabeth. Several of these relics have been collected by Mr. James Underwood, well known for his former indefatigable exertions in amassing antiquarian stores.

British Urn found at Storrington, Sussex.

[1830, *Part II.*, p. 18.]

I send you a sketch of a remarkably fine British urn, which was discovered in 1826 on the Downs in the parish of Storrington, Sussex.

It measures 21 inches high, 13 broad at the top, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ at the base, is of a dirty reddish-brown colour, and in a very good state of preservation. This is the largest and best formed of any of the British specimens I have seen.* Its thickness is three-quarters of an inch, and its shape, considering it was made by the hand, very perfect. It was found, which is not uncommon, with its base or small end upwards. The coarse cloth in which the bones were usually deposited was entirely decayed, but the pin or brass fastening (also

* Of those engraved in Hoare's "Ancient Wilts," it most resembles that in Tumuli, plate viii., vol. I., p. 81. There is much of the same sprig pattern on one in Tumuli, plate xvi.

represented above) was in good preservation. The bones were white and well burned.

The difficulty of procuring perfect specimens of these rude funeral vessels of our ancestors is very great; being half baked, or, as some antiquaries imagine, baked only in the sun, they are so very soft, that the utmost care must be exerted to prevent their falling to pieces. Chalk seems to preserve them best, for I have never been able to remove those in a perfect state which I have discovered in clay or sand. It may not be out of place if I here remark that these urns are often miscalled Roman, Danish, etc., when our present knowledge of pottery and sepulchral remains may more properly term them British. All the Roman urns I have seen have been made of much better materials, and appear to have been turned with a lathe.

I would wish to ask any of your learned correspondents if they imagine the British ever burned their dead before the Romans invaded this country. From my own observations, I should say it was a form borrowed from the Romans; and I conceive those tumuli in which we find the skeletons, with stags' horns, the bones of dogs, birds, etc., to be the most ancient form of burial that was adopted in this island. We generally find these remains at the lowest part of the tumulus, and the urns either in the centre or at the side; and in some it would appear that the urns were placed little more than just under the turf; and indeed in many places I have seen well-burned bones covered only with a stone, not more than a foot under ground, and where there has not been the least shadow of an urn. There has never, I believe, been any regular number of urns found in a tumulus; in some as many as fifteen or twenty, in others only one or two. May we not suppose that, during the frequent battles which the Romans must have had with the British, the British burned their slain after the Roman custom, and put their bones in these rude urns, placing them in the tumuli which had already been formed?

Yours, etc. F. D.

Antient Metallic Vessel found in the River Severn.

[1825, *Part I.*, pp. 417, 418.]

In the *Monthly Magazine* for April last, p. 218, a paper is inserted, signed Jacobus, describing an antique metallic vessel, of a circular form, said to have been found in the bed of the river Severn on the 9th of July last. The communication is accompanied by a plate, containing a copy of the figures, and descriptive lines *engraved* on the inside of the vessel, of which a section is also shown.

The diameter of the vessel is stated to be $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches, its internal depth thirteen-sixteenths, and the thickness of the composition (resembling bell-metal) of which it is made one-eighth of an inch.

The engraved designs on the inside form one central, and six sur-

rounding circular apartments; between each of the latter of which is a triangular figure resembling the head of a female, with wings. There is also an ornamented border round the central compartment, and a kind of string course round the whole, near the rim of the vessel, discontinued and recommenced at regular distances.

The figures in the circles appear to represent mythological stories, and each circle has round it a Latin inscription. In the paper alluded to the stories are explained, and the Latin inscriptions translated; but not the least attempt is made to ascertain the age, history, or use of the vessel, neither is it stated under what circumstances, by whom, or in what part of the river Severn this ancient relic was discovered, nor in whose possession the same now is.

It appears to me that the term *vase* made use of in the above paper has been improperly applied with reference to this vessel, which, from its shape and shallowness, may be more properly called a plate, dish, or basin. Whether it was originally intended for religious, eleemosynary, domestic, or bacchanalian purposes, I leave to the discernment and skill of others to determine, though I think it not improbable that it may have been an *offering dish* or basin, such as that at Stanford, of which an engraving and description may be found in Nash's "History of Worcestershire," vol. ii., p. 367.

In making this communication, I indulge a hope that the pages of so desirable a channel for antiquarian intelligence as the *Gentleman's Magazine* may not long be without an accurate and well-authenticated engraving and description of so interesting a relic as that now under consideration, with the addition of those matters of fact respecting it which are at present wanting, and such remarks from some of your learned and ingenious correspondents as may satisfactorily illustrate its antiquity, history, and use.

GEORGE YATES.

Ancient Cooking Utensil.

[1779, pp. 405, 406.]

The late Mr. Gostling, of Canterbury, was a worthy man, and well respected for his good-nature and pleasantry; but, at the same time, he was very sanguine, and not a little opinionated, insomuch that, when he had taken a thing into his head, it was not an easy matter to drive it out. He was a great collector of antiquities; and, in a long life, had amassed a considerable number of curious antique articles. Amongst other matters, he had gotten a piece of household furniture, of copper, which he was pleased to call a *curfew*; and his friends, on account of his years and good-humour, did not care to contradict him. This implement has since been engraved in the "Antiquarian Repertory," vol. i., p. 89, and F. G., who communicated the drawing to the conductor of that work, having without scruple

adopted the old gentleman's notion of it, has described it as a curfew, from its use of suddenly putting out a fire; and says, "Probably curfews were used in the time of William the Conqueror, who, in the first year of his reign, directed that, on the ringing of a certain bell, all persons should put out their fires and candles."

Now, sir, authors agree in the institution of the *curfew-bell* by William the Conqueror; and it was doubtless a good stroke of policy, imitated afterwards by others on like occasions;* but they call it *the corfeu-bell*, or *the corfeu*, in which latter short expression either *bell* is understood, or the time of night, or the injunction for putting out the fire, is meant. However, not a word is said, by any of them, of any particular implement made use of for the purpose of extinguishing the fire; nor do we meet with the name of *corfeu*, as an implement, in any ancient writer whatsoever; and thereupon I incline to think there never was any such.

But, you will ask, for what use, then, could this old piece of household serve? I answer, you have heard of baking bread or cakes, or other matters, under embers;† and the same is practised nowadays in most countries where they burn wood. They make clean a place in the hearth, lay the bread upon it, cover it with something (this implement, for example) to keep the ashes from it, and then rake a proper quantity of coals and ashes upon it. This will account for those "others of the kind still remaining in Kent and Sussex,"‡ and, in my opinion, for the true use of Mr. Gostling's implement, which does not appear to me, to judge from its elegance in the draught, to be of any such great antiquity as the practice of the *corfeu* introduced by the Conqueror, since this ceased, as I suspect, temp. Henr. Primi (for so I understand those words of Knyghton, "*Lucernarum usum tempore Patris sui intermissum restituit de nocte in curia sua*" §), though the ringing of the bell continued, and even does so to this day, in many places.

Yours, etc. T. Row

Druid's Hook.

[1830, *Part II.*, p. 227.]

In the twelfth volume of *Archæologia*, p. 414, is described, and in pl. 51, f. 8, represented, a slender instrument of brass, resembling gold, about 12 inches in length, tapering to a slender point, where it is curved. It enlarges a little near the handle, which finishes at that

* "*Antiquary's Repertory*," p. 216. As to the use of *corfeu* in other countries, see Du Fresne, v. *Ignitegium*.

† *Genesis* xviii. 6; and Bishop Patrick ad loc. Calmet, *Dict.* v. *Eating*.

‡ "*Antiquary's Repertory*," p. 90.

§ Hen. Knyghton, inter X. *Script.* col. 2374. See Stow, *Hist.*, p. 135. *Malmesbury*, p. 156, who, for *tempore patris*, has *tempore fratris*. Knyghton, however, evidently transcribes William of Malmesbury.

end with a knob, enclosing a piece of amber. A little beyond the swelling part are the remains of an eye, which, when perfect, served most probably to attach it to a riband. This was found near the river Fowey, in Cornwall, 10 fathoms under ground at the bottom of a mine, and was supposed to be a Druid's hook, used for gathering mistletoe.* In addition to the above, I beg leave to observe that in the " *Vetusta Monumenta*," the first volume and the last plate, is an engraving which represents a meeting of the persons belonging to the Court of Wards and Deliveries,† sitting round a table. In the middle is probably the President, or Master of the Court; and next to him, on his right, a person having in his hand what appears to be an instrument similar to that above mentioned, found in Cornwall, and which we may conjecture to be a badge of office, though in the letterpress attending the engraving no mention is made of the circumstance.

Should any of your correspondents be able to reconcile the above circumstance, I shall be much obliged.

J. L.

Curious Particulars Concerning Wild Cats in Britain.

[1774, *p.* 165.]

The dog is thought to be an indigenous animal of this island, as we find mention made of British dogs in the most early accounts we have of the country;‡ but it is not so with the cat, as appears from the laws of Hoel Dda, who died A.D. 948, where a considerable value is put upon them, and the property of them is secured by penalties.§

As the cat is a beast of prey, and particularly fond of birds, the creature is apt to stroll into the fields, and if it meets with success there, will often become wild, without returning home. Hence came a breed of wild cats here, which formerly were an object of sport to huntsmen. Thus, Gerard Camvile, 6 John, had special license to hunt the hare, fox, and wild cat, throughout all the King's forests||; and 23 Henry III. William, Earl Warren, by giving Simon de Pierpont a goshawk, obtained leave to hunt the buck, doe, hart, hind, hare, fox, goat, cat, or any other wild beast, in certain lands of Simon's.¶

* See Pliny, " *Nat. Hist.*," b. xvi., cap. 44 where it is said that the priest cut the mistletoe off with a golden hook or bill (*falce aureâ*), but the instrument in question has no cutting edge, being perfectly round the whole of its length.

† This Court existed till the year 1660, when a perpetual excise on ale, beer, etc., was enacted by Parliament, on a commutation with Charles II. for the abolition of the said Court of Wards and Liveries.

‡ Mr. Pegge's " *Essay on Coins of Cunobalin*," p. 97.

§ Mr. Pennant's " *British Zoology*," i., p. 46.

|| Sir W. Dugdale's " *Baron*," i., p. 627.

¶ *Ibid.* ii., p. 457. See also, i., p. 701; Blount's " *Tenures*," p. 60, 104; Gunton's " *Hist. of Peterb.*," p. 151, 160; Mr. Pennant, i., p. 48.

But it was not for diversion or sport alone that this animal was pursued in chase ; for the skin was of value, being much used by the nuns in their habits, as a fur. Hence, in Archbishop William Corboyl's Canons, anno 1127, art. 10, it is ordained, 'That no abess or nun use more costly apparel than such as is made of lamb or cats' skins.'"* But their furs, I am told, are more valuable in North America.

The wild cat is now almost lost in England, but is described by Mr. Pennant, i., p. 47. And as no other part of the creature but the skin was ever of any use here, it grew into a proverb, that you can have nothing of a cat but her skin.

T. Row.

Antiquities near Lichfield.

[1818, Part II., p. 305.]

The articles of which I have sent you drawings were found near some lands known by the singular names of "Hic Filius and Christian's" field ; so called, according to tradition, from having been the place where the early converts to Christianity had used to assemble, and where the massacre from which Lichfield derives its name took place. Some writers have derived it from the Saxon *leccian*, to water ; but Bede, Ingulphus, etc., from *liche*, a dead body, which derivation is confirmed by the great number of bones discovered mixed with fragments of pottery and pieces of iron four feet beneath the surface of the earth upon a bed of clay, on which have since grown and decayed trees which, from their remaining roots, must have been of considerable size. Four horse-shoes, pierced for nails at the toes as well as sides, and a stone ball of the diameter of four inches, were likewise found. The mixture of domestic articles with the military weapons proves them the reliques of people surprised in their retreat rather than the remains of a battle ; and being upon the spot pointed out by tradition, may serve to rescue the legend from being "consigned to the nursery of papal superstition" as a mere monkish fable.

C. E. S.

Fig. 1. A stone dish, one foot diameter, used, perhaps, for grinding corn, was placed in the earth as a cover to Fig. 2, of smooth, red earthenware, broken by the eagerness of the workmen to examine the contents, which proved earth only. The black spots are metallic.

Fig. 3. The head of a weapon in good preservation, the wooden staff was broken off near the head ; the iron is 21 inches in length.

Figs. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, are weapons found in 1817 in the foundation of one of the canons' houses on the north side of the Close, with some bones and broken armour.

* Mr. Johnson's "Collection of Laws, Canons, etc.," A. 1127.

Unknown British Trackway Discovered.

[1822, *Part I.*, pp. 26-28.]

Mr. Fosbroke's interesting work, entitled "Ariconensia," having introduced a conversation concerning the Roman roads in Herefordshire, a gentleman communicated the following account of a fine British trackway, improved by the Romans, hitherto, I believe, unknown—at least, unnoticed in print, for Herefordshire contains British and Roman antiquities hitherto unexplored.

This trackway commences at Magna or Magnis (Kenchester, no longer misnomered Ariconium), and proceeds from thence to the Wear, where it crosses the Wye, and so on to Madley and Madely, a well-known British village, the ancients of which is displayed by Mr. Fosbroke ("Ariconensia," p. 42), from the "Life of S. Dubricius." From Madley it runs to Stoney Street, and so on to New Street. The meaning of these appellations is still conspicuous. The part of the road between the two places last named is distinguished by a Roman causeway, the other parts being mostly hollow, but characterized, like the Via Julia, by a ruined pavement of large stones. From New Street it goes to Moorhampton Park, beyond which, at New Court, a place situate between the Old Court Dowlas and the Golden Vale, it is a deep hollow. Moorhampton signifies Marsh-camp-town, and the circumstance of the causeway being thrown up before it, and the deep hollow behind it, leads to an inference that here was one of the marshy fortifications of the Britons, so usual in their tactics, the military defence of which was purposely destroyed, according to the Roman practice, by founding the causeway, a favourite custom with Severus in particular. From Moorhampton it proceeds to Buckton, a village near Brampton Brian, and from thence to Long Town, under the Black Mountains, or Hatterell Hills. The communicator traced it no further. The whole distance is about seventeen miles. It is straight all the way.

This trackway, at one end, seems to have originally communicated, as being a work of the Britons, with their camp at Credenhill, justly presumed to have been one of the grand posts of Caractacus; and from its size to have given the name of Magna Castra to the adjoining subsequent station of Kenchester. At the other end, by Buckton and Brampton Brian, it is not far distant from Coxall Hill, or the Gaer dykes, where the British hero was finally defeated. Thus an additional particular is gained by this road to Mr. Fosbroke's elaborate illustration of the campaigns of Caractacus and Ostorius. ("Ariconensia," pp. 14-16.)

Considerable difficulties attend the sites of certain Roman stations in this vicinity. Caerleon (*Isca Silurum*), Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*), and Abergavenny (*Gobanium*, evidently derived from the river

Gavenny), seem to be unquestionable. That Blestium was situated at Monmouth and Burrium at the town of Usk cannot be so readily admitted.

First, as to Blestium.

Some writers have placed Blestium at Longtown, which is quite inconsiderate, for the thirteenth Iter of Antoninus from Caerleon to Silchester shows that Blestium lay between the former place and Gloucester, in a direction quite different. The route is from Caerleon (Isca Silurum) to Burrium, called Usk (9 miles, only $7\frac{1}{2}$), to Blestium, placed by Horsley at or near Monmouth, 11 miles, and so to Ariconium, the Bollatree, near Ross, 11 miles, from whence to Glevum, Gloucester, 15 miles.

No village of any appellation approaching to the prefix syllable *Bles*, in *Blestium* (as the Celtic term was Romanized with the Latin termination *ium*) occurs at or near Monmouth, according to the Gazetteer. But in Domesday Book is the hundred of *Blacheslawe*, in which is the village of Stanton, Gloucestershire, not far from Monmouth. Archdeacon Coxe says, "The only road bearing positive marks of Roman origin is that which leads from the left bank of the Wye up the Kymin, passes by Stanton, and was part of the old way from Monmouth to Gloucester." He also admits that there are several indications there of a Roman settlement. Indeed, there is a place called Bury Hill, where four roads cross at right angles, considerable entrenchments, a Druidical rocking stone, a sepulchral cippus, etc.; and the distance from Stanton to the Bollatree, turning to the north in the vicinity of Michel Dean, is not more than the 11 miles in the Itinerary from Blestium to Ariconium. If so, the Roman road did not run from Monmouth by Trewarn, etc., as Mr. Fosbroke diffidently surmises ("Ariconensia," p. 23), though there might be a British trackway in that direction. If, therefore, *Blacheslawe* suggested *Blestium*, and Stanton, from its remains, has the best local title to having been that station, its distance from the town of Usk, if that be Burrium, is far too great for the 11 miles in the Itinerary. But it is to be recollected that the town of Usk, though undoubtedly of Roman occupation, is a mile and a half (if the road be not modern) less from Caerleon than the distance in the Itinerary; and that Usk or Isca appears to have been a loose term, taken from the river, not limited to the town, but to a large extent of fine British posts and earthworks; and that Burrium ought to lie somewhere beyond Pencamaur, where the Roman or British road to Blestium commences, and is in a straight line from Caerleon by Pencamaur to Ariconium. The interesting compendium of Usk, given by Nicholson ("Cambrian Traveller," col. 1313), corroborates the above hypothesis:

"In the vicinity of Usk are antient encampments. Craeg y Gaeryd, supposed to have been a Roman camp, is two miles north-

west from Usk, to the south of Pont-y-pool Road, upon the brow of a precipice overhanging the east bank of the Usk. The site is overgrown with thickets and brambles, and the entrenchments are in many places 30 feet deep. Several tumuli are within the area, from 15 to 20 feet in height. Mr. Coxe, in visiting this encampment, passed the small torrent called Berdden, from which some writers have derived the name of Burrium, as being placed at its confluence with the Usk. Two other camps are upon the opposite side of the river, to the east of the high road leading from Usk to Abergavenny. Campwood, two miles from the town, above the wild and sequestered common of Gwhelwg, is of an oval shape, enclosed by a single foss and vallum 700 yards in circumference, wholly overgrown by wood. (Either a British place of worship or Roman amphitheatre.) The encampment of Coed-y-Bunedd is formed upon the summit of a commanding eminence, at the extremity of Clytha Hills, about four miles from Usk, to the west of the turnpike-road leading to Abergavenny. It is 480 yards in circumference. The west and north sides are precipitous, bounded by one entrenchment; the other sides are fortified with triple ditches and ramparts. The entrance is covered by a tumulus (the Roman Tutulus or Clavicula—'Hygin de castr. Rom.'). Some foundations of towers at each end yet remain. It was originally strengthened with walls. (Apparently a British post, converted by the Romans into a castellum, or exploratory camp, for it commands a fine view of the north of the country.) A chain of these fortified posts seems to have stretched from Cat's Ash over the ridge of land that terminates in the Pencamaur, supposed to have been the site of a British, but more properly a Roman road, which branched off from the line of the Julia Strata to Blestium. The commencement of the line is at Coed-y-Caerau, in the hundred of Caldecot, to the west of Caerleon, where are several encampments, and beyond the Pencamaur, in the same direction at Wolves Newton, are two. Cwit y Gaer is a small circular encampment, which appears to have had its ramparts formed of stone, and the remains of walls indicate that it was defended by bastion towers. It is about 190 feet in diameter, and surrounded by a double foss and vallum. (This was seemingly a British castle like Trer-caeri, etc.) Gaer-faur, lying between Golden Hill and Defauden, is the largest encampment in the county. It was the site of a British town. The depth of the fosses and height of the valla are considerable."

Thus Nicholson. That these earthworks were originally, in the main, posts connected with the defence of Caractacus, is probable. They were also apparently outposts, afterwards occupied by the Romans, as Castella (according to Cæsar's usual plan), in defence of Caerleon. Instances without number show that before parishes were formed, places as extensive as our modern hundreds were characterized by one denomination only. The distances in the Itineraries may

therefore easily vary in some miles, if the mere site of a town or village be the spot from which the admeasurement is taken.

Usk, and its whole vicinity, was occupied by the Roman military. It subsequently formed, as it were, the suburbs of Caerleon, and there is in the maps a straight line of road from Usk, through Strignil and Pencamaur, to Sudbrook or Portskeurd, the great port at the mouth of the Severn from the earliest æras to the reign of Charles I., and about three miles across the river at high water from the new passage. Here the Romans are presumed to have formed their first station in Wales (Gough's "Camden," ii. 485, ed. 1786), "Urbs Legionum" is the appropriate limited appellation given by Giraldus to Caerleon, and Isca Castrum to Usk. The term "Isca Silurum" of the Itineraries may therefore apply to the district of Caerleon as far as Usk, and "Burrium" be seated in advance. There is further proof of error. In Richard of Cirencester there is no such distinct station as Burrium—"Bullium,* Burrium, Bultrum, Caerphylli Castle," being the item in Stukeley's Index as one and the same place.

S. Y. E.

British Antiquities of Kent.

[1844, Part I., pp. 377-380.]

During some late researches I have been making into the Druidical vestiges in the kingdom, I have necessarily closely examined Cæsar's account of his invasion of Britain, and I am now convinced that he never crossed the Thames at Coway Stakes,† nor marched to St. Alban's. Perhaps the following remarks may lead to further research, and incline some of your able correspondents to investigate the subject. My opinion is that Cæsar, unaware of the difference, miscalled, or perchance mistook, the Medway, in lib. 5, c. xviii., which runs into the Thames, for the Thames itself.

After the conquest of the British‡ fortress at Chartham Downs,§ Cæsar marched by the great British trackway|| which led to the grand

* Bullæum (Silurum) is not certainly located.

† Camden, Horsfield's "Hist. of Lewes."

‡ "Ipse noctu progressus millia passuum circiter xii. hostium copias conspicatus est. Illi equitatu atque essedis ad flumen (the Stour) progressi, ex loco superiore nostros prohibere, et prælium committere cœperunt. Repulsi ab equitatu, se in sylvas abdiderunt, locum nacti egregiè et naturâ et opere munitum, quem dome-tici belli, ut videbatur, causâ jam antè præparaverant: nam crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant præclusi. . . . At milites legionis vii. testudine factâ et aggere ad munitiones adjecto, locum ceperunt, eosque ex sylvis expulerunt, paucis vulneribus acceptis."—Lib. v., c. viii. For, had Cæsar crossed the Thames, he would not then have totally omitted to mention his previous passage of the Medway, a river of much greater extent and magnitude than the Stour; for the Medway was not then confined within its present banks, but occupied the valley, rendering it one vast quagmire.

§ Douglas, "Nenia Antiq." Vide account of the opening of the tumulus containing the remains of Q. Laberius Durus.

|| Fosbroke, ii.

Druid altar, at present vulgarly called Kit's Coty-house.* It is now a well-ascertained fact that long prior to the advent of the Romans, the Britons had good roads intersecting the country from one Druid temple to another. These roads† were not constructed straight, like those that superseded them some two centuries after, but, contrariwise, frequently diverged to the towns contiguous.

The Druidical erections on the banks of the Medway were as magnificent and imposing as any in the world. There might be found every appliance and ornament that their religion demanded to awe and alarm its superstitious votaries. Prominently on the brow of the hill stood the altar from whence the Arch-Druid, whilst offering to heaven the victim's reeking heart, declared the decrees of fate. By the side of this cromlech stood a meinigwyr,‡ at times used as a gorsedd, to explain the law to the assembled thousands. At the foot of the hill, in the deep recesses of the sacred grove, was reared the holy of holies,§ with the lustrating springs adjacent to a kistvaen.

Arrived at the ford,|| Cæsar found the Britons in great force determined to dispute his passage, to render which more difficult, they had driven sharp stakes into the bed of the river.¶ Here Cæsar was necessitated to fight a terrific battle, and at length his legions, wading through the water up to their necks, forced the ford. Adjacent was the town** where dwelt the Cenimagni, in whose terri-

* Thorpe, "Custumale Rof." 68 ; et Colebrook, "Archæol." ii

† The Romans, when they could, used these roads ; in Kent, however, they deviated from the ford and crossed the river at Rochester.

‡ "About a coit's cast from this monument lieth another great stone, much part thereof in the ground, as fallen down where the same hath been affixed."—*Stow*. "The demand of a few square feet for the growth of corn, in a country with millions of acres of waste land, would not permit its preservation."—"Old England," p. 15.

§ Thorpe, "Cust. Rof." p. 68.

|| The night before the passage of this ford, Cæsar encamped at "Debting, where, a few years since, some entrenched embankments were discovered at a distance of about two miles, in the direction of Bredhurst ; they formed nearly a square, with a double vallum on the north side."—Lamprey's "Maidstone."

¶ "Cæsar, cognito consilio eorum, ad flumen Tamesin, in fines Cassivellauni, exercitum duxit ; quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc ægrè, transiri potest. Eò quum venisset, animum advertit ad alteram fluminis ripam magnas esse copias hostium instructas. Ripa autem erat acutis sudibus præfixis munita ; ejusdemque generis sub aquâ defixæ sudes flumine tegebantur."—*Lib. v., c. xiv.* It does not appear that the stakes were shod with metal, or in fact anything else but "sharp stakes," which in process of time, by the action of the current, would necessarily be swept away.

** "Elesford, the ford of Eccles, an ancient village near Aylesford, called Aiglessa in Domesday Book. Tradition still speaks of its having been a strong and populous town, the cottages occupying its site being chiefly built of stones from the foundation of its primitive houses."—Allport's "Maidstone," p. 17. A British town, although very populous, was little more than a wood with a number of straggling villages in it, and surrounded with a ditch and earthwork.—Cæsar,

tories were comprised the holy fanes just enumerated. An immediate consequence of the victory was, that this tribe yielded allegiance to the conqueror, and sent in their adhesion to his standard.*

Caswallon, the British leader, in consequence of the desertion of some of his allies, then retreated to his own town and fortress (the remains of which still exist in the shape of an oval near Dartford), in the centre of his tribe's territories (the Cassi†), where he was followed by Cæsar, and again defeated. For

"Treason, like an old and eating sore,
Consumed the bones and sinews of his strength.

This British town was extremely large, as its boundaries may now be traced, extending into no less than five parishes, Wilmington,‡ Dartford, Bexley, Sutton-at-Hone,§ North Cray.

Cæsar then, c. xvii., says "that from them (the Cenimagni) he had intelligence that he was not far from the capital of Caswallon, which was situated amidst woods and marshes, and whither great numbers of men and cattle were retired." This description precisely applies to this spot, which is guarded in its front by the marshes of the Darenth, and in the rear by those of the Cray. "Thither he marched with his legions, and although the place appeared to be exceedingly strong both by nature and art, he resolved to attack it." Now, within but a short distance of the road by which Cæsar marched from Eylesford (the capital town of the Cenimagni), which road is still in existence, and *partly* used to this day, stands a most conspicuous artificial circular mound, at present covered with trees and shrubs, and called Ruehill Wood.|| This was undoubtedly the position to which Cæsar alludes as admirably defended both by nature and art, and certainly still exhibits a splendid specimen of early British military architecture and skill. Even Hasted,¶ but a slight observer of these subjects, says, "In the woods hereabouts there have been found quantities of bricks and other building materials," which he hints to have been "perhaps the remains of depopulation, occasioned by the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster." Had this hypothesis

lib. v., c. xvii. The houses were rather circular huts, half buried in the ground, formed of wattled poles driven into the earth around a circular hole, fastened together at top, and covered with sods, grass, or reeds, to exclude the rain. Strabo says, "The forests of the Britons are their cities; for, when they have inclosed a very large circuit with felled trees, they build within it houses for themselves, and hovels for their cattle."

* Cæsar.

† *Id. ibid.* v., c. 21. Segonax, one of the four chiefs of Kent enumerated by Cæsar, doubtless governed the Segontiaci. By analogy, Caswallon ruled the Cassii.

‡ In a meadow at no great distance from Ruehill are several tumuli.

§ The British road runs by Cold Harbour Farm in this parish.

|| On the southern side of Dartford Heath.

¶ Hasted, i. 234.

been at all founded in fact, tradition would most certainly have handed down some legendary tale of the annihilation of a town so recently as the wars of the Roses. But Hasted has himself, in the preceding page, utterly disproved his own supposition, by stating that the manor of Ruehill* or Rowhill "was in the reign of King Edward I. in the possession of the family of Gyse," and concludes the paragraph by giving its descent through the different lords to 1778, when he published his "History of Kent." That there are great quantities of Roman "bricks and other building materials," and nearly one hundred finely formed British excavations or pits scattered through these woods, I have the confirmatory assurance of S. Landale, Esq., a fellow labourer in the archæological vineyard, who has repeatedly noticed them whilst there shooting, and who moreover informed me that I should find a mass of Roman brickwork in a cart-lodge at Hook Green Farm (a building not a quarter of a mile from Ruehill). It is therefore most probable that a Roman mansion was there erected some years after the conquest of Kent; since the city of the Cassii was not at once destroyed after the victories of Aulus Plautius (A.D. 43), but by degrees fell into decay after the divergence of the road from the sea coast into the better formed and more direct Watling Street, aided by the establishment of the station of Noviomagus (Dartford), which by degrees attracted and absorbed the aborigines, and gradually caused the desertion and final total abandonment of the British city.

However, after the fall of his fortress of Tyrru, Caswallon, like a skilful strategist, changed his tactics, and incited the chiefs in Cæsar's rear to attack the camp on the sea coast † Cæsar was now compelled to retrace his steps and, as in the year before, was in such haste to embark and return that he crowded his men (nothing loth) into what ships he had, and sailed away. ‡

* Ruehill is evidently a corruption of the Celtic word Tyrru, which is from Twr, a heap, an accumulation. Thus its modern name, with the merest alteration, has descended to our time in utter defiance of the various languages imported by the different masters of the land, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans. The name too, is expressive of an accumulation of material, or formation of an artificial mound or earthwork. This mound, from its great altitude, was in the present century selected by Government and used as a position for the site of a telegraph. Adjoining to this mound, but quite detached, is a smaller earthwork or fortlage, on the summit of which is a deep round excavation like a well, which, a labourer on the 18th of March last informed me, at the bottom extended for some distance and was strongly arched; it had then been but a few weeks before watted round to prevent accidents.

† Although the Segontiaci had made a peace with Cæsar (lib. v., c. xxi.) yet Segonax joins (lib. v., c. xxii.) Cingetorix, Carmilius, and Taximagulus, in Caswallon's confederacy to destroy the Roman invaders' fleet.

‡ Tacitus, writing more than a century after Cæsar, distinctly says, that even Cæsar, the first who entered Britain with an army, although he struck terror into the islanders by a successful battle, could only maintain himself on the sea coast—that he was a discoverer rather than a conqueror. In fact, that he only saw a small portion of the island.

According to the best expositors upon Cæsar's Commentaries, he could not have been more than thirty-two days in Britain. From this we must deduct sixteen required for the reparation of the fleet after being damaged by the equinoctial tides, and to which Cæsar had to return from Chartham Downs after fighting his first battle with the Britons. Thus Cæsar had only sixteen days left for his incursion, conquest, and return; hence it becomes almost a physical impossibility for Cæsar to have marched so far as Coway Stakes, through, to him, an entirely unknown, wild, inhospitable, and bitterly opposed country, where every minute and hour of the day he had to encounter the vexatious and irritating skirmishing of the 4,000 Essedarii* (who never remained long enough to be beaten), that Caswallon had purposely retained to harass his foes. Besides, he not only had to remove day by day the *matériel* of his invading forces, but also to construct a camp,† which, although only an earthwork, yet was necessary to be done by his wearied legions during day-light, otherwise they would have been subjected to a night attack similar to that Q. Laberius Durus‡ met his death endeavouring to repel.

I also think it most probable that the state of the Trinobantes was in the hundred of Hoo, because how otherwise could it have been possible for Cæsar during his advance into the country to have received ambassadors, who had then to return and collect forty hostages, and procure from perchance north, east, west, and south, sufficient corn for the sustenance of the Roman troops, if it had been situate at a greater distance, and across a mighty river like the Thames? Now it is quite clear that the extremely brief stay of Cæsar utterly precluded him from delaying his march to wait for supplies. The road by which the supplies even reached Cæsar is still in existence near Higham.

Yours, etc. A. J. DUNKIN.

On the Site of the Ancient Ictis.

[1829, *Fart II.*, pp. 207-208.]

The situation of that islet, called by the ancients Ictis, whence the Cornish Britons brought their tin at low water, to be shipped by the Phœnician merchants, has occasioned much controversy among antiquaries. One supposes it to be St. Michael's Mount; another the Black-rock in Falmouth harbour; a third, St. Nicholas, vulgo Drake's

* Lib. v., c. xix.

† Sed eos fugientes longius Cæsar persequi vetuit, et quòd loci naturam ignorabat, et quòd magnâ parte diei consumptâ, munitioni castrorum tempus relinqui volebat. Lib. v., c. viii.

‡ Q. Laberius Durus was buried at Chartham Downs. Mr. Fagg in the eighteenth century opened the barrow, and was rewarded by finding many relics. (Douglas, "Nenia Brit.") Eo die Q. Laberius Durus tribunus militum interficitur: illi, pluribus immissis cohortibus, repelluntur.

island in Plymouth Sound ; a fourth conjures the Isle of Wight into the identical spot ; while others with greater probability consider it to have been destroyed by the encroachments of the sea.

We are told by Diodorus Siculus, that according to the tide it was either an island or a peninsula. At first sight there certainly does appear a remarkable coincidence betwixt this description and St. Michael's Mount ; but when we call to mind the manifold changes that have, and continually do take place on the sea coast, as well as the testimony of tradition, we shall soon learn it never could have been the Ictis of that writer.

Mount's Bay, it is said, was originally land covered with wood. Some years since, several trees were found buried in the sand near the Mount,* a proof of the veracity of this tradition, which further tells us this land ran a considerable way into the sea, and was called the "Land of Leonesse,"—a name supposed to be of Phœnician origin. Risdon also, in the first paragraph of his Survey of Devon, says: "That region which geographers account the first of all Britain, and shooteth out furthest into the west, was once reputed the fourth part of this island, and supposed to be a kingdom *before the sea swallowed up the land between St. Burian and the islands of Scilly*, included under the name of Damnonia, is of later times divided into two parts, known by the names of Devonshire and Cornwall." In the charter granted to the monastery by St. Edward the Confessor, the Mount is termed "St. Michael's in the wood near the sea ;" its name likewise in the Cornish tongue was *Karreg Luz en Kuz*, *i.e.*, The hoary rock in the wood.

This land of Leonesse was overwhelmed † at a remote period by some great convulsion of nature, either by an inundation or an earthquake, perhaps by the agency of both. Sir Christopher Hawkins, in his "Observations on the Tin trade of the Ancients in Cornwall," affects to despise this account, because the precise date when it occurred cannot be ascertained, "for we cannot give credit to so extraordinary and supernatural an event, on the mere assertion of a monkish writer, or from a circumstance of so trifling a nature as

* This same phenomenon has been observed on different parts of the coast. In Whitsand Bay, the eastern boundary of which is the Ram Head, where Polwhele places his Grecian factory, an old inhabitant told me that on a clear day, when the tide was very low, a forest might be seen under water, the branches of the trees towards land, and their roots to the sea, as if thrown in that position by the inrushing of the waters. While the fleet were lying in Torbay during the late war, a tree of large dimensions was drawn up by the anchor of one of the ships.

† Tradition tells us at the time of its occurrence one of the Trevelyan family (now seated in Somersetshire), with much difficulty escaped on horseback (Drew's "Hist. of Cornwall," p. 15). Fishermen have seen the ruins of houses (so says Carew) between the mainland and the Scilly Isles, and while fishing have drawn up pieces of doors and windows.—The Saxon Chronicle mentions a destructive inundation which desolated the southern coasts of England in the eleventh century : might not this have been the one that destroyed the land of Leonesse ?

above described," viz., the discovery of the trees. But why should we disbelieve a monk more than Caradoc the Welsh historian, who informs us that Cardigan bay was formed by the inroads of the sea early in the seventh century? Is there any thing more extraordinary or supernatural in an island being destroyed on the Cornish coasts by an earthquake than that one should arise out of the ocean among the Azores, from the same cause? Had it indeed been the legend of St. Michael's wonderful appearance* on the mount, he might have doubted; as such idle stories, it is well known, were invented by the different monasteries to impose on the credulous, and by that means increase their riches. But no advantage could accrue to the monks from the forgery of this story of the inundation. For my own part, I regard the monkish historians as much more worthy of respect than they are generally allowed to be; nor do I doubt them, except where the aggrandizement of their particular house seems to be the sole reason (and that is easily discovered) for their statements.

Presuming, therefore, that St. Michael's Mount cannot be the long sought Ictis, I shall now proceed to examine the claims of the other competitors. [See *post*, p. 166.]

Those who favour the Black-rock do so because the river Fal is in the centre of the mining district; but, reply their opponents, it is at a distance from any other rock, and scarcely above water at low tide. Both these arguments are fallacious, for it clearly appears from Diodorus that Ictis was near the promontory of Bolerium† (Land's End). Even had we not his authority, I should not be inclined to reject its claim for the latter reason, because the encroachment of the sea might have reduced it to what it is, and left the bare rock, as it were, a monument of its triumph.

The pretensions of Drake's Island are equally objectionable, and those who defend them cannot be acquainted with the Tamer; for, if the Britons worked the mines on the banks of that river, it is not likely they would take the trouble to bring the produce in carts round its different creeks and branches to this spot, when it could be brought hither with less fatigue in boats.

The Isle of Wight has no one argument in its favour; in the first place, it is too far from the main land. Its size is also against it, for

* This was in the year 495; but the French contend that it was on Mount St. Michael in Normandy.

† "Those Britons who dwell near the promontory of Bolerium, live in a very hospitable, polite manner, which is owing to their great intercourse with foreign merchants. They prepare, with much dexterity, the tin which the country produceth. . . . When it is refined, they cast it into ingots, in the shape of cubes or dies, and then carry it into an *adjacent* island, which is called Ictis; for when it is low water, the space between that island and the continent of Britain becomes dry land, and they carry great quantities of tin into it in carts. Here the merchants *buy it*, and transport it to the coast of Gaul; from whence they convey it overland, on horses, in about thirty days, to the mouths of the Rhone."—Quoted by Sir C. Hawkins, p. 50.

we are led to believe that Ictis was only a small islet where the tin was brought for the conveniency of being shipped. Lastly, but not the least, is its great distance from even the most eastern parts of the territories of the Damnonii; and it is very improbable they would take this their valuable metal so far through the dominions of a hostile nation to this island, though it might then join the continent of Britain, when they themselves were divided into three tribes continually at variance with each other. Besides, we have no proof that the Phoenicians ever traded so far east as the Tamer, much less there; although a gold coin of that nation was found some years back in Torbay, and Start point is supposed to owe its name to their goddess Astarte.

The only reasonable conclusion to be drawn is, that Ictis was somewhere near the Land's End (because the oldest mines are in that neighbourhood), but destroyed by some violent commotion of nature, as the Atlantis of Pliny was.

Yours, etc. J. C.

Description of a Barrow lately opened at Oddington.

[1787, *Part I.*, pp. 292, 293.]

In the latter end of February, in enclosing the parish of Oddington, near Stow-in-the-Would, County Gloucester (for which an Act of Parliament was lately obtained), a small barrow, which appeared an obstruction to the plough, was levelled. When cut perpendicularly, it had the appearance of a stone quarry, with which the country abounds, being formed of layers of large flat stones thinly interspersed with earth. At a small depth from the surface, and about the level of the field, were found many human bones, lying in regular order of interment. From the negligent manner of opening the barrow, it could not be ascertained what number of bodies they composed—some say six, others ten; some of the bones, of a smaller size than the rest, were supposed to have belonged to a female. A quantity of ashes were found in the bottom of this repository, with several remains of personal ornaments and habiliments of war. Many articles were carried away by the labourers; but of some of the principal which have fallen into my hands I send you a drawing, in hopes that, as your useful publication is perused by most antiquaries, some light may be acquired as to the era in which these persons lived, of whom no tradition at present remains in the neighbourhood.

Plate II., fig. 1, is a circular plate of iron, with a small handle, three inches and a quarter in diameter and one-eighth of an inch in thickness, of which there were several.

Fig. 2 resembles an ear-pick, with a hole at one end for its appendage. The drawing is of the size of the original, and of copper.

Fig. 3. A bodkin, likewise copper, and of the size of the original.

Several of these were found of various lengths, and were probably female appurtenances.

Fig. 4. A spear, six inches and a half in the blade, and one inch and a quarter in the broadest part.

Fig. 5. A spear of different shape, eight inches and a half in the blade, the point broken off, which must have been an inch more, one inch and an eighth broad at the shoulder, the shafts of both gone, but part of the iron socket of each remaining.

Fig. 6. Beads—one of free-stone, one of blue glass, the irregular shaped ones amber and of unequal size, all perforated. There were others of green and red glass. As many as would fill a quart pot were found, which are in various hands.

Fig. 7. The centre of a round shield, five inches and three-quarters diameter at the base, depth within two inches and a half. What is remarkable in this is, that the rivets which connected the next circle are plated or cased with silver, which with the point of a penknife may be raised from the iron.

Fig. 8 is of copper, and might well pass for an old button with a hole in the middle, but that on its reverse are two shanks, like those of fig. 9, to affix it to the body or vestments. Time or violence has rent the circular holes in the shanks made for the affixing both this and fig. 9. This article may be a Roman fibula, or something of a bracelet of more modern times.

Fig. 9 is an ornament of the same class. It is of brass, two of which were found exactly similar, in great preservation, and so well gilt that most of the gilding still remains. The edge of it rises like that of a saucer near a quarter of an inch. The drawing is the size of the original, and I have been precisely accurate in the copy, wishing it may not be merely the fancy of the workman, but that it may contain characters tending to develop to what people it belonged. Two of the compartments seem alike, the third appears to vary a little.

Speed and other ancient historians tell us, that the spear and shield were used by the ancient Britons, and that they were fond of glass and amber beads, and that they did not use casques or helmets. The head, however, in fig. 9, has somewhat the appearance of being enclosed in one.

The Romans had numerous stations in this county, as the names of many places evince. The Saxons, too, in turn, have left many traces of their abode in this neighbourhood. Addlestrop, or Ædle Thorp, an adjacent village, is of Saxon denomination. Stow, or St. Edward's Stow, or Place, as it is called in records, is likewise Saxon. It seems to have been much distinguished by that Saint, who was termed the glorious St. Edward and was brother to Edmond the Martyr, the Saxon King. Mangersbury, or Malgaesberie, as it is named in Domesday Book (which for more than two centuries has

been the seat of the ancient family of the Chamberlaynes), was probably, from its adjunct of Bury, a Saxon villa. The habitation of St. Edward is likely to have been thereabouts, as there is a well there called St. Edward's Well, the water of which is reported to have virtue in diseases of the eyes, and other remembrances of him remain. The church of Stow was built about 800 years since by Ailmere, Earl of Cornwall and Devon, on a ground then called St. Edward's Close. These bodies were probably buried before the erection of that church, being so near to it. Maugersbury is still nearer to the barrow. It might be the place of interment of the residents of that villa—the mixture of sexes seems to denote its being a place of regular burial; but if they were the victims of war, from the cruelties of which, we know, women in ancient times were not exempt, they were possibly hastily deposited here at a later period; all which conjectures I submit to the opinions of your more learned readers, much wishing for their communications on the subject.

Yours, etc. D. L. M.

Antiquities in Dorsetshire.

[1768, pp. 109-113.]

I desire you to insert the following account of some curiosities in the county of Dorset in your next Magazine. By this canal I humbly offer it to the public, and request the opinion and judgment of the learned concerning it.

I am, your constant Reader, J. H.

In the parish of Alspiddle, about three miles north-east from Piddletown, in Dorsetshire, on a little hill or ridge called Bladen, Blagden, or Blackdown, where the road goes from Piddletown to Pool, opposite to Alspiddle on the north, and to Hurst and Pallington on the south, are a vast number of pits. Their diameters, depth, and distance from each other are different, and run from east to west. On the east there are some very large and deep ones; but they lessen towards the west. The second on the east, over which the strongest man cannot throw a stone, is computed to be 60 toises in diameter, and is called Hurl-peppers, or Culpeppers Dish. Sometimes there are two, contiguous to each other, only divided by a thin partition like the diameter line of a circle. At the east end they lye only on one side of the road, but as you advance farther west they lye on both sides, in a double range. They are all of a circular or conical form, broad at top, but grow narrower at the bottom. It is observed that they never hold water in the wettest seasons. There are no heaps of earth near them that might have been taken out of them, only some tumuli, whose bigness and number are inconsiderable. They are 112 in number. Near them, in Piddletown Heath, are many more of the like kind.

Various have been the conjectures concerning them, Some, who suppose them to be artificial, imagine them to be Druidical, and intended for places of sacrifice, before temples were built, where the fires might be sheltered from disturbing winds. Others will have them used for the burning of dead bodies, as was the custom of the Gauls, who received their religious, if not their civil rites too, from the Britains. (Cæsar de Bell. Gallic., l. 6.) And as pits of this kind are frequently found in heathy countries, a question has been started whether the Druids might not have such a kind of esteem for heath as they had for oak, mistletoe, and vervain, etc. Some have thought them to be traps or snares for wild beasts, as was practised by the Gauls. This was the opinion of the late Dr. Ward, of Gresham College, who was consulted concerning them. Others have apprehended them to have been designed for a military use, either by way of defence or surprise. Some think they might be dug for marle pits, and this will account for there being no heaps of earth near them. The use of marle was known in the time of the Romans, and no doubt before. Many old hollows still remain, which the country people by tradition say were dug for marle. Old deeds mention marlaria, or marle pits. Others have thought them to have been repositories to hide corn, etc., in time of war; but the great breadth of some of them would have made it very difficult, if not impossible, to cover them and conceal their contents. Besides, these pits in the heath near Crayford and Feversham, in Kent, mentioned by Mr. Camden as designed for this use, are narrow at the top, though large at bottom. Pliny and Tacitus mention pits made for this purpose.

Some suppose them to be natural, and their opinion is favoured by the nature of the soil, which is a loose, porous black sand, under which is a deep stratum of yellow gravel, usual in this heathy country, so that they might be formed by the sinking in and mouldering of the soil; and in the plain below there are several small ones that have been sunk in the memory of man, near which, at the foot of the hill, there are several strong springs, one of which, on the south of Oker's Wood, after running a little way, goes into a pit, and is lost.

Leland describes some of a similar nature: "There be a great number of pits made by hand, large like a bowle at the headde, and narrow in the bottom, overgrown in the Swart with fine grass; and be scattered here and there, about the quarters where the headde of Kennet river is, that cumythe by Caire Kennen [near Carmarthen in Wales], and some of these will receive an hunderithe men, some 2 hunderithe. They be in the blake mountains." Leland, "Itin." vol. viii, p. 92. Dr. Stukeley mentions such in Wiltshire. At Ad-dington, near Croydon in Surrey, are a great number of pits of the same form, and in the same soil as ours.

Mr. Aubrey, in his "Monumenta Britannica," a valuable work yet
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unpublished [see Note 21], mentions some at Todpit, or Tippit, in the parish of Martin, in Wilts. Tod, in old English is, he says, marle, or manure, and is still so called in Yorkshire. Between that and the parish of Chalk, on the Downs, are many pits, where, on boring the earth, good white marle is found. These were probably dug by the Romans for agriculture. At Tidderlees, in Kent, four miles from Capel, are an hundred acres full of pits on an hill. Tradition says it was an encampment. At Pen Hill, near Stourton, in Wiltshire, the ground for a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, is full of pits, close by one another, some — feet in diameter, and 16 deep. Here Kenwall, King of the West Saxons, defeated the Britons, and Edmund, King of the West Saxons, fought the Danes under Canute.

In the cliffs near the south-east end of the Isle of Purbeck, from Encomb to Osmington, and even on the north side of the Isle of Portland, but chiefly in the parish of Great Kimerage, is found a sort of coal or inflammable slate, of a very bituminous and sulphureous nature. It burns very strong and light, but emits a very sulphureous smell, and blackens those that are about it extremely, but is not found unwholesome or prejudicial to the eyes. In burning, it is not reduced wholly to ashes, but to slate. It is found in great lumps, 16 feet below the tops of the rocks, in stony cliffs only, but its stratum is not above 2 feet deep, nor does the vein extend far from the sea-shore. It is almost only used by the poor in their chimneys and ovens, and sold for 9d. an hogshead, or 6d. a tun. In the cliff, and where it happens to be under water, it is very hard; but when exposed to the air, shivers into pieces like slate. Of this coal is made the coal-money hereafter mentioned.

Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, in his remarks on a like kind of coal found at South Bovey, in Devonshire, thirteen miles south-east from Exeter, and ten from the sea, in a common called Bovey Hethfield, in the "Philosophical Transactions," vol. li., part ii., p. 534, No. 53, 1760, and No. 65, p. 941, 1761, observes that it is not a fossil wood, or once a vegetable substance, as the Germans imagine; that the smoke resembles that of asphaltum, or the bitumen of the Dead Sea. The ancients and moderns speak of it as a mineral substance, or metallophyton. He shews the analogy between Bovey coal and fossil wood in Germany, described by Professor Holman, and that this fossil is not of a vegetable, but of a mineral origin or production, and proves his opinion by arguments, authorities, experiments, and a chemical analysis of the subject. He says the Kimeridge coal, of which I sent him some pieces, is very much like, but not so large as the Bovey coal. They are both of that kind of fossil called by the naturalists *lignum fossile*, and is only an earth impregnated with bitumen, which in most places runs into a laminal form, and the coal rises—at least, the upper vein of it—within a foot of the surface of

the ground. The Kimeridge coal, by the yellow strokes or spots that appear on it, seems to be marcasite.

Dr. Pocock, late Bishop of Meath, in his "Travels to the East," vol. ii., pp. 30, 37, says that beyond Bethany, in the way to Jericho, and about two or three leagues from the Dead Sea, is found a stone called Hajar Mouse, or the Stone of Moses, which burns like a coal, does not consume, and turns only to a white stone, and not to ashes, and has the same disagreeable smell as the bitumen of the Dead Sea, and thinks that it is probable that a stratum of this stone under that sea is one part of the matter that feeds the subterranean fires, and that the bitumen boils up out of it.

In the Isle of Portland, in the north-west corner near the castle, is a stratum of coal like that at Kimeridge. It is found on the outside of the cliffs, and dug horizontally. The upper stratum is 14 feet of natural black earth; the next is a greyish soft stone, 6 inches deep; then follow the vein of coal about 10 inches thick; under this is a black earth, and at the bottom of the cliff, clay. It rises in lamina. There are two sorts, black and reddish; the last is the worst, and does not burn so well. The ashes of both is a good manure for clay ground; it is mostly used to heat ovens with, piled up as turf. It gives a clear light, and yields a strong bituminous smell, and is in all respects like the Kimeridge coal. It is found more to the west, in the sands on the open shore at Chickerel and Fleet.

At Smedmore, in the parish of Great Kimeridge, near the seat of Geo. Clavel, Esq., is found a remarkable curiosity, called coal-money, made of Kimeridge coal. It is generally discovered in the top of the cliffs, 2 or 3 feet below the surface, enclosed between two stones set edgeways, and covered with a third; this enclosure contains a quantity of them, mingled with a few bones of some animal. Sometimes many are found in the grounds adjoining, near the surface, and it is observable that where they lye is made ground; they are undoubtedly artificial. They are of a round form, from 1 to 2, or 3 inches diameter, and a $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. One side is flat, the other convex, on which are several mouldings. On the flat side are two, sometimes four round holes near the rim, but they do not penetrate through the piece (perhaps the centre-holes in which they were fixed in the turning-press). Antiquaries do not doubt but that they are British antiquities, but whether amulets or money is not agreed. It is not probable they were amulets, for those exhibited by Mr. Camden, p. 695, ed. 1, and by Dr. Stukeley in his "Stone-henge," p. 44, table 33, entirely differ from these both in form and materials. The former are chiefly globular or cubical, with an hole pierced through them; the latter were glass, earth, and amber. They are known to the country people only by the name of coal-money. It is observable that "cole" is a cant word; and it is a common expression in this and some other counties, "Down with your cole!" *i.e.*, "Pay your

money?" Some have been found in the cliffs at Flowers Barrow, an ancient camp near East Lullworth. Not long since there was found on the sea-shore near Kimeridge a bowl made of this coal, 6 inches in diameter, but shallow, and of equal height; it contained a few pieces of this money.

Some curious observers in Worcestershire, Lancashire, and in other counties where there are coal-mines, are requested to inform us whether anything of this nature is found amongst the pit-coal, kennel-coal, etc.

[1839, *Part I.*, p. 196.]

Some workmen engaged in lowering of the hill in Fordington, adjoining Dorchester, have lately brought to light some curious remains of antiquity. All about the locality in question, numerous human skeletons have at various times been found, leading to divers conjectures and hypotheses. Many such were now discovered, lying in various positions; but the most interesting portion of the proceedings was the exhumation of a skeleton that had evidently been interred beneath a barrow. Round the neck of the skeleton, which was that of a female, was a necklace of beads of glass and amber, connected by very fine brass links, and to which was appended an amulet, about an inch and a half in diameter, and nearly spherical, and beautifully turned out of the Kimmeridge coal; and on the right arm was an armet of the same material, elegantly turned, ornamented, and highly polished. The body had been interred with the head to the north, and near the head was an urn of rude black ware, slightly ornamented on the exterior, and about seven inches high, and about the same in diameter at the mouth, with another smaller urn or drinking cup, of somewhat ruder shape and manufacture, and the remains of a lachrymatory of the red Samian ware, of elegant form and proportion. The interment is clearly that of a Romanized Briton.

Notes on the Remains of Early British Tin-Works.*

[1862, *Part II.*, pp. 696-699.]

The present notes by no means adequately represent the subjects which I desired to lay before the meeting; they are but a slight out-shadowing of them, and I place them in your hands (Dr. Barham's) simply to call attention to a few points which appear to me to require closer investigation than they have yet received. I shall leave with you the question of the intercourse of the Phœnicians, merely expressing my opinion that a great mistake has been made in supposing the Scilly Islands to have been the Cassiterides. There does not exist in the islands any indication of ancient tin workings. I cannot learn that any tin has ever been found in any of the Scilly Islands,

* A paper by Robert Hunt, Esq., F.R.S., Keeper of Mining Records, read by Dr. Barham at the Cambrian Archaeological Meeting, at Truro, Aug. 29, 1862.

but I know that small veins of schorl have been mistaken for tin. The appearance, however, of Cornwall from the sea is such that it might easily have been taken for a group of islands, and when we have the evidence of the Hereford map to show how imperfect geographical information was at a much later date, when even the Principality of Wales was supposed to be a separate island, we can without much difficulty admit that the term was applied generally to Cornwall. The evidences of very ancient tin workings are still to be found in many parts of this county and of Devonshire. In St. Just, near Cape Cornwall, are some rude workings upon the run of the lodes, and there are still remaining evidences in other parts of that parish, and in the adjoining parishes, which are probably early British. Some of the most remarkable workings in the county are, however, to be found in Gwennap, and in Baldhu. Again, in St. Agnes and in Perranzabuloe there are excavations showing that remarkable want of engineering knowledge which distinguishes all early workings. Around St. Austell we find similar evidences, and again in the neighbourhood of Calstock. Especially at Drakewall like excavations—open to-day—exist. On Dartmoor these are numerous, and the extensive workings at and near Birch Tor are probably the most extraordinary existing.

Many of the old mine workings belong, without doubt, to the Roman period; and there is evidence that the educated skill of the Romans was brought to bear upon the Cornish tin mines. Many years since, when examining the workings of the lode in Baldhu, I heard of a well-executed adit having been discovered which had been driven up to the lode; and Mr. Enys informs me that he has learnt, on good authority, that "there was a large *arched stone level* in the elvan that runs through the district, very different from any other of the 'old men's workings,' but that it was almost impossible to get near it at present without extreme danger." This description agrees with that of the Roman works in Spain.

Again, numerous "old men's workings" must belong to the reign of King John, when mining for tin was carried on most actively. I have but little doubt that nearly all the perforations in the cliffs of the tin district—such as are seen in a most remarkable manner in the granite at Clegga Head and scattered along the cliffs in St. Agnes and Perranzabuloe—belong to this period. That very extensive mining operations were carried on at that time on Dartmoor is certain; and evidences of the existence of a large population still remain. The singularly isolated churches on the moor are all supposed to be of this date.

We have, therefore, in dealing with this question, to separate with care the Roman workings, and the so-called "Jews' workings," from the true early British excavations. The evidences of sheltering earth-works appear to me to be exceedingly strong in favour of the

existence of the most ancient of British mines. One of the most remarkable of those is the Bolster, in St. Agnes, which may be traced from Poltreen to Chapel Porth; and there are many indications of its having been continued in the other direction to Trevannance, thus enclosing the whole of St. Agnes Beacon, upon and around which tin has been and is abundant. Similar enclosures are to be yet traced in St. Just and many other places, and either within or very near these we may generally find that every lode has been worked—by simply clearing it out as far as the primitive miner could follow it—by following every string, however small in size it may have been, and indeed by employing the rudest methods of the untaught mind. Many of the rock castles, many of the “rounds” could have been constructed for no other purpose than to protect the stores of tin which had been gathered in the neighbourhood of them. I believe we may by a little cautious investigation separate the ancient British workings from those which were directed by the Romans, or those which were carried out by the Jews at a later period. This investigation I desire to open—it is full of interest.

The general tendency of all Cornish antiquaries and historians has been to make St. Michael's Mount the Iktis of Diodorus, from the circumstance that it agrees at the present time precisely with the description of the ancient historian. [See *ante*, 156-157.] Diodorus speaks not of an island, but of islands, and to them the Britons conveyed their tin. Secrecy as to the localities from which this then precious metal was obtained was to be preserved. The Tyrian traders were kept on the coast; they do not appear to have been admitted to the mainland. This circumstance explains the construction of such works as the Bolster, the hill castles, the rounds, or at least of some of them, and many other arrangements for secrecy and safety. The means for conveying the heavy ore being necessarily limited, there can be but little doubt that the nearest secure place of shipment would be selected, and perhaps in every case the traders were confined to the islands near the coast. It is not improbable that tin may have been *carried* to the Scilly Islands, seeing that there has been a shadowy tradition pointing to them as the Cassiterides. But St. Michael's Mount still preserves the character given to the Iktis by Diodorus, and it was no doubt one of the islands named by the historian, and to it in all probability was taken for sale and shipment all the tin obtained in the western district. Seeking for the other islands, two especially present themselves. These are St. Nicholas Island in Plymouth Sound, and St. George's or Looe Island. At the present time these islands are constantly surrounded by water, but an examination of the Admiralty charts will show that over the “bridge” which connects St. Nicholas Island with Mount Edgcombe there is, even in the centre opening, at low water only a few feet (I believe only three) of water, while all the other parts are left dry. The rocks

which run out from Hannafore Point, by the Midmain Point, in like manner connect Looe Island with the main, there being but a few feet of water above them at low tides.

We have evidence of the submarine forest in Millendreth Bay, near Looe; of the raised beach at Redding Point, under Mount Edgcombe; of the submarine forest in the Mount's Bay, and numerous raised beaches around the coast, to support the hypothesis of a change in the relative level of land and water. This is not, however, required to support the view that at one time the two islands named were left with a passage dry from them to the shore. The disintegrating action of waves beating on either side of such a neck as that which we suppose to have existed, and the abrasive power of tidal currents, would be quite sufficient to produce the separation, without any raising or lowering of the land. But for the protecting influence of the mass of greenstone running out from Marazion, called the Hogus, and that which is afforded also, to some extent, by the elvan dyke forming the Long Rock, especially the other portion called the Rayman, and the interpenetration of the clay slate around the island by granite and quartz veins, there is no doubt but St. Michael's Mount would long since have been in the position of St. Nicholas and Looe Islands. The proposition which I endeavour to support is—that St. Michael's Mount, St. George's or Looe Island, and St. Nicholas Island, were three of the islands included under the description given by Diodorus (I think there are others, especially on the north coast of Cornwall, which might be included), and that the tin produced by the ancient Cornish people over the western district found its way to St. Michael's Mount; that the extensive district around St. Austell sought for a shipping port at Looe Island; and that the tin obtained from the Calstock and Callington districts, and that collected from the wide range of Dartmoor, was taken to St. Nicholas Island, in Plymouth Sound.

Sir George Cornwall Lewis has recently been endeavouring to revive the claims of the Isle of Wight. How that lovely spot ever came to be regarded as the probable Iktis is strange, seeing it does not agree with any one of the conditions required. Certainly, we have one island which yet preserves all the characters required, and at least two others which may have been in the condition of islands when the tide was flowing, but having passages to the mainland at low water; and these will be found, I believe, to be the islands of the ancient historian. [See Note 22.]



Early Anglo-Saxon Remains.



EARLY ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS.



Saxon Antiquities at Kempston, Beds.

[1864, *Part I.*, pp. 223, 224.]

SIR,—I am confident that you will be glad to record in the *Gentleman's Magazine* authentic evidence of this Saxon settlement in the south-midland district of England. For several years past fragments of pottery, spear-heads, and bronze fibulæ have occasionally been found in the parish of Kempston, about a mile and a half from Bedford, and the opinion prevailed that this was the site of one of the numerous battles alleged to have been fought in this valley. I was much occupied on this spot a few years ago in making geological investigations of the fine strata here presented of post-tertiary gravel; and as my attention was sometimes called by the gravel-diggers to the human bones disturbed by them, I was tempted occasionally to discontinue my own inquiry and follow out their excavations in the vicinity of the Saxon graves. I soon arrived at a different opinion to that entertained generally, and obtained many proofs that this was no hasty interment of warriors slain in mortal strife, but a gradual garnering of the victims of the great leveller of all—that, in fact, “Up End” is a Saxon cemetery. The orderly disposition of the bodies, and the proportion of females and children, imply that the settlement of that people was of long standing; and that they were Saxon is proved by the well-known forms of accompanying urns, weapons, and personal ornaments. The gravel strata in the field so long under excavation for road material having been exhausted last year, the owner of the property has appropriated another field, divided from the first only by the public road; and at this site the human remains are more plentiful, and the accompanying objects of art much richer. A large proportion of the bodies found previously were accompanied by very few articles, and most of the urns were small, of ordinary forms, and without ornamentation. There was one grave, however, which proved an exception. It contained the

skeleton of a stalwart man, and I remember to have noticed the skull, before it was again buried, as differing from the common type found here, being broader at the base and more developed over the brow. By the side of the head was a spear-blade, precisely like some in the Faussett collection derived from a Saxon grave at Kingston: by the side of the skeleton were two knives, also like the Kentish types of that collection; the umbo of a shield, in form like one found at Gilton; a bronze fibula set with garnets; and an urn, which the late Mr. Kemble pronounced unique in England, as it had a piece of glass inserted in the bottom. No further description is here necessary, as I furnished an account of this relic to the "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. iv. 159. There has not been, until lately, a satisfactory supervision of these discoveries, as the local treasure-trove right was not clearly understood, and the articles got into the hands of various collectors. I am glad to add, however, that there is now a proper understanding; and the owner of the land, Mr. Littledale, is devoting himself to the conservation of the relics, and our Archaeological Society has prevailed on the Rev. S. E. Fitch, who resides in the parish, to take full notes of the various discoveries. This he is doing with great care and zeal; and as the notes will probably be published by the society, I will now only state, for the interest of the readers of your pages, some general features of this Saxon cemetery. The site is the highest portion of the land between Kempston and Bedford (the Bedicanford of the Saxons), and was probably selected on that account as well as for having a deep stratum of gravel. The principal portion of the bodies yet uncovered were carefully laid in shallow graves seldom exceeding 3 feet in depth; but there were two instances described by the men of the body being in a sitting posture, and my attention was called to one which presented such an appearance; but as there had been a settlement of the soil at that spot, I incline to the opinion that this exception to the recumbent position was due to that cause rather than to any design on the part of those who paid the last rites to the Saxon warrior. This case was a very interesting one, from the mode in which it first came to observation. After a heavy rain, which had thoroughly saturated the soil, a large portion of the face of the pit fell down, and the new section thus formed displayed the warrior in relief, with his spear-head, knife, and an urn which fell to pieces in the attempt to remove it. Another exception to the general mode of interment here to be noticed is a case of cremation. There were fragments of human bones which had been burnt, a great quantity of charred wood, and an urn containing remnants of bones of small animals, which had also been burnt. Some of the bodies now found are within 2 feet of the surface; and one which I had the opportunity of seeing immediately after the earth had been removed, was not more than 18 inches deep. This was the body of a female, and there was not the

slightest disturbance of the bones ; even those of the hands and feet were all in place. A bronze ring was on one finger. From the sutures of the skull, and the small regular teeth, it may be inferred that this was a young woman. In the grave of another female the bones were also undisturbed, and with them were two bronze fibulæ, gilded, 114 beads, a large proportion of which are small lumps of amber, but there are several of purple glass, a few of crystal, and one of burnt clay of a dark colour, with red ornamentation ; there were also three picks or bodkins of bronze on a ring. In other graves similar relics were found ; and with the skeleton of a man, beside a pair of fibulæ, was the iron umbo of a shield, fragments of the bronze rim to the shield, and a plate of metal, silvered, of the form of a fish, with three rivets through it, supposed by some antiquaries to have been a device fastened on the front of the shield. In one child's grave, by the side of the body, was a little urn only 3 inches high, destitute of any punctured ornamentation, but having three little tufts, or projections, at the swell below the neck of the vessel. Amongst other relics found was a fine greenish-coloured drinking-glass, long and tapering, of the form of a deep ale-glass, but without foot or stand, and having a spiral pattern embossed. This is without crack or blemish, and is a very interesting specimen of the art of the period. I will not now further trespass upon your pages but to remark that the parish of Kempston has been a most fertile field for the antiquary. During the period of my intimacy with the place I have known the several excavations to produce works of human art representing the mediæval period ; the Saxon, as above described ; the Roman, by pottery and coins ; the British, by coins ; the stone period, by celts and other weapons ; and last year I had the satisfaction of proving the occupation of this locality by man at a still earlier age by discovering a flint implement, of the Amiens type, in the lowest gravel, which contains the fossil remains of the *Elephas antiquus* and *Hippopotamus major*.

I am, etc.

JAMES WYATT, F.G.S.

Great Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire.

[1851, *Part II.*, p. 521.]

The Hon. R. C. Neville has for some weeks employed a number of labourers in excavating a locality near Great Wilbraham, in Cambridgeshire, long since known as the site of a Saxon Burial Ground. Various interesting remains have been from time to time discovered there, but it appears that they have hitherto rather served to gratify the avidity of collectors than promote the ends of antiquarian research, which is Mr. Neville's aim in making a systematic investigation, and taking advantage of the opportunities it affords of getting at facts. As the mounds which at one time covered the

graves have been long since levelled, trenches have been cut, in order to ascertain the position of the tumuli. We are informed that the skulls of the skeletons which are found in most of the graves are of two very decided characters, and of very distinct periods; that the older graves contain but few and rude beads and that the skulls in these are of remarkable flatness, the orbits of the eyes being almost at the top of the head, which is long and most deficient in size; that, in the other class of graves which furnish beads, swords, knives, spear-heads, and fibulæ in profusion, the skulls are high and well developed in front. This is the popular ethnological view of the result of the discoveries. But we do not see why the absence of frontal space in the skulls decides them to be anterior in date to the others; and we shall look for that rigid attention to authenticated facts which is necessary before theories can be maintained, and which we make no doubt Mr. Neville has adopted the proper means to secure. Upwards of a hundred urns of dark-coloured unbaked earth are said to have been exhumed. In some graves have been found thin bronze dishes and a wooden bucket or pail, hooped and ornamented with bronze, with a handle still attached. This is a rather important discovery, which does not square with the opinions of those who saw in a very similar object, found some time since at Wilbraham, a Saxon crown or diadem.* In several graves umboes of shields were found; within one of these the handle yet remained, grasped by the finger-bones of a human hand. The skeletons of a man and horse occupied one grave, with a sword placed between them. [See Note 23.] In another, as many as four fibulæ were found, together with sixty-four beads of various materials. One of the swords discovered is said to be of a very superior description; the blade as usual of iron, but the handle ornamented with bronze.

Carlisle.

[1822, *Part I.*, p. 353.]

Some men employed in widening the turnpike road leading from Carlisle to Penrith, in Hesketh Lane, came in contact with a barrow and a quantity of large cobble stones, in cutting their way through which they found a broad two-edged sword, bent together, two spears, one larger than the other, an axe, bridle-bits, part of a pair of spurs, a sharpening stone, the bone handle of a razor, and the back of a comb, both neatly carved, the remains of a bone comb, a piece of iron, resembling a sickle, probably the back of a saddle, an iron basin or top of a helmet, with holes in its rim, burnt bones, etc. It is evident that the whole has been exposed to heat, and from appearances, the fire-place must have been 10 or 12 feet in diameter, and

* A correspondent of the *Times* directs attention to the correction of this error by Mr. Roach Smith, in his "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. ii., where this identical vessel is engraved, and designated a pail.

sunk in the ground at least three. The stones immediately covering the ashes were large, and closely set together, those above, smaller, compact, and regular. There are various speculations as to their claim to antiquity: some consider them Saxon, others Danish, while many assign them a much more modern date.

Discovery of Saxon Graves at Winster, Derbyshire.

[1856, *Part II.*, pp. 644-645.]

A discovery of considerable interest, throwing much light upon the funeral rites of our Saxon ancestors previous to their conversion to Christianity, was accidentally made during the past week in the garden attached to the residence of Mr. Charles Carill Worsley, at Winster, Derbyshire. While lowering a bank of earth for the purpose of making some improvements in the pleasure-ground, the labourers uncovered two graves at the depth of upwards of 4 feet from the present surface, each containing a human skeleton, lying on its right side, with the knees drawn up, and the head pointing towards the north-east. A careful examination of the place, and the objects there discovered, affords evidence of the interments having been made in the following manner:—A wood fire was in the first place lighted upon the ground, in or around which some large stones were put, so as to become calcined; this being burnt out, the place it occupied was cleared for the reception of the body, which was then deposited in the position before mentioned, along with the implements and weapons of the deceased. The calcined stones were next piled carefully over the corpse, and, finally, earth was heaped up above the whole, probably while the ground was still warm. The first skeleton was accompanied by a small spear-head or knife of iron, much corroded, and the lower stone of a hand-mill, anciently used in every household for grinding corn;—the latter had passed the fire. With the second interment was found the upper stone of the same mill, very neatly wrought in sandstone, but split to pieces by the great heat to which it had been exposed. Some pieces of a very coarse vessel of plain earthenware were found near the head of this skeleton; and behind it lay a large spear-head of iron, 2 feet 10 inches long, a curved instrument of the same metal, 5 inches, originally fixed in a wooden handle, the bone ferule of which still remains, and a ring-like bead or decoration, of light-coloured porcelain about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The whole of the articles exhumed from these graves (which may be assigned to the Teutonic or iron period, including the time from the end of the fifth to the eighth century, A.D.), by the kind permission of Mr. C. Carill Worsley, have been deposited in Mr. Bateman's museum of antiquities, at Lombardale House.

Antiquarian Discovery at Ebrington, Gloucestershire.[1862, *Part I.*, pp. 198, 199.]

About a month ago some pits were dug in a field close to this house [the vicarage] for the purpose of obtaining stone, when, about 18 inches below the surface, the man who was digging came upon eight skeletons, very tolerably, if not quite, perfect. The teeth were as sound and as good as if the men had died but the other day, but from his account of the mysterious disappearance of the other bones, which he had put in a large heap, I have no doubt that they crumbled away after their exposure to the air, and left only the little relics of bone which are still visible round the edges of the pit. Along with these skeletons were found two steel or iron caps, or, rather, the tops of such, very much corroded by rust; they are rather more than 6 inches in diameter at the bottom, and stand about 3 inches high; they have a lip all round them, like the edge of a plate, in which the studs are still to be seen, to which leather or some other substance must have been attached to hang down the sides and back of the head. For a crest, the caps, which are circular, rise up in a short spike surmounted by a sort of button, the whole rising about one inch above the cap. There were also found some spear-heads, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in the widest part. Besides these, there was a ring of bronze or bell-metal, which I have in my possession; the diameter of the outer circle is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, that of the inner $\frac{3}{4}$ inch; the weight is $1\frac{3}{4}$ ounces; a pin of the same metal, evidently belonging to a brooch, in length $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches; and a small silver ornament about $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide at the broader end, from which it gradually tapers to a point. One side of this strip of silver is marked with longitudinal lines at the top and bottom, and two rows of small points up the centre, by way of ornament, I suppose. From these bronze and silver ornaments I should be inclined to consider the remains as those of some Danes who had a camp in the immediate neighbourhood on Meon Hill; and as in this parish we have traces of an engagement, in the names of Battle Bridge and Battle Meadow, both of which are about a mile from the place where these remains have been found, it is very possible that some fight took place here of which we have no record in history. I am informed, on credible authority, that about thirty years ago as many as forty skeletons were discovered in or near this same field, at which time many pieces of old armour, coins, and a sort of gold plate were turned up, but I cannot find what became of them.

I enclose drawings of the spear, ring, pin, and silver ornament, and regret I am not artist enough to do justice to the cap: the articles are all delineated of one-half their actual size.

I am, etc.

W. E. HADOW.

[1862, *Part I.*, p. 246.]

Your correspondent W. E. Hadow, at p. 199, in describing an antiquarian discovery at Ebrington, alludes to two articles which he describes as "steel or iron caps, or rather the tops of such, very much corroded by rust," etc. Your correspondent has fallen into a mistake which often occurs to persons not acquainted with Saxon antiquities; his caps, in fact, are the umbos of shields: and this latter supposition is strongly supported by the spear-heads being found at the same time. Again, the locality being near Chipping Campden is strongly corroborative of their Saxon origin.

I am, etc., E. PRETTY.

(Since the article was inserted we have been favoured by the Rev. Mr. Hadow with a drawing of one of the so-called "caps." We regret that it was not supplied in the first instance, as, though very slight and rough, it shows that Mr. Pretty's view is the correct one.)

Skeletons found near Basingstoke.

[1831, *Part I.*, p. 351.]

Several skeletons have been discovered while making the new road over Rook's Down, in the parish of Sherbourne St. John, near Basingstoke. That a battle had formerly been fought on this spot is by no means improbable, as within half a mile of the Down there is a very extensive and very ancient camp, known by the familiar appellation of Bury Bank, or Winklow's Barrow, though no tumulus exists on which to found the latter description. The area is surrounded by a single rampart and a ditch on the outside, partly filled up by the labours of the agriculturists. The height of the rampart, reckoning the slope, may be in some places 25 or more feet. From its simplicity, it may be inferred that this was a work of the ancient Britons. A great battle was fought at Basing by King Etheldred and his brother Alfred, against the Danes, in 871.

Isle of Wight.

[1856, *Part II.*, p. 642.]

Mr. Hillier has recently made further researches in the Saxon cemeteries in the Isle of Wight. Unfortunately the heavy rains caused him to postpone the excavations when they were on the point of being attended with success. The most interesting deposit in the graves examined consisted of a glass vessel, two fibulæ (one concave, the other cruciform), and a set of small toilette implements. The last had been hung to the girdle, of which the buckle alone remained. The most curious and novel of these little objects is a bronze knife, used probably for paring the nails, and such purposes. It is curved; but the edge is outermost, and not, as the shape would suggest, on

the lower side. It need scarcely be observed that these interesting remains were with the skeleton of a female.

Anglo-Saxon Relics, Kent.

[1860, *Part II.*, pp. 533-535.]

Some valuable Anglo-Saxon relics, recently found at Sarr Mill, Thanet, having come under my notice, I induced the possessor to exhibit them to the Council of the Kent Archæological Society, at their meeting held in Canterbury a short time since. Having the sanction of the president to make an offer to their nominal owner, subject of course to the right and permission to retain them, I was in hopes they would have been preserved for the county in which they were discovered: in this I fear I have been disappointed.

I venture to give you a description, trusting the same may not prove uninteresting to your readers, and to antiquaries in general.

In August last, in chalk land at Sarr, about 6 feet below the surface, some workmen, in excavating the soil for the erection of a steam-engine, found the following relics: A fibula, a bulla, four gold coins or medals, a large and symmetrical bronze bowl, a metal pin, bead of amethystine quartz, necklace of beads of amber and of coloured clays, iron weapons, metal clasp of large purse, and some pieces of iron, the use of which I was at a loss to determine. These were deposited in a grave where a skeleton was found lying with the head north-west by south-east. The skull of the defunct was tolerably entire: it was rather thick, with a low forehead, and posterior part somewhat protuberant; but, with the exception of a few of the vertebræ and some fragmentary bones, little else remained. The teeth indicated that the deceased was of no very advanced age. A second grave, near the first, was also found, but it contained nothing but a few bones.

The fibula found in the first grave was very beautiful, and nearly perfect. It had lain on the left breast. The external rim consisted of garnets or garnet-coloured glass, interlaced with gold chequer-work in half diamond patterns. Within it was a deep border of gold work, then an inner circle of garnets or of coloured glass, interlaced also with the gold chequer: again, another circle of beaded gold; and in the centre of all a large boss of ivory or seahorse's tooth, divided quarterly with the same sort of gold chequer. The centre of the fibula consisted of a large carbuncle, surrounded by a thin border of the same gold-threaded or chequer-work. Four other ivory studs, forming a square, contained also carbuncles, and completed the ornamentation of the brooch. This relic was $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, being of the same size as the fibula found near Abingdon, figured in "Pagan Saxondom," plate 3, and which it strikingly resembled in almost all other particulars.

The bulla was of gold, with ornament of mosaic or chequer-work

of red, blue, and white stones, and very similar to one described plate 4, fig. 7, in "Inventorium Sepulchrale." It had a loop for suspension.

The bronze bowl was entire, except that it had been neatly repaired at the bottom by a patch of metal, affixed by small studs. There was also one small hole in it. The metal was quite sound, and scarcely appeared to have suffered at all by its long inhumation. This bowl is of a shape not often found in the graves of Kent. Mr. Akerman has given an example of one (see "Pagan Saxondom") which was discovered by the late Lord Londesborough, in 1843, at Wingham, in this county, and which it exactly resembles, even to the pattern of the open lattice-work of the stand. Similar pateræ, Mr. Akerman informs us, have been found in the graves of the Franks.

In this bowl were deposited bones, some said to be human. This, however, I am not fully convinced of. Also the bones of sheep and oxen. For what purpose they were placed there, and whether in the first instance with or without their fleshy adjuncts, I am unable to determine. The circumstance, however, is remarkable.

A small metal pin, and a seax or knife, were also found in the grave, together with a large sword, a relic but rarely discovered in the Anglo-Saxon interments, and which is probably indicative of the rank or high command of the deceased warrior.

Perhaps, however, the most interesting part of the remains were the four gold coins, or rather medals, for the gold loops for suspension were portions of the original substance of the metal. They were in size rather larger than a shilling, of very pure gold. They were inscribed round the borders, the impression on one side being a somewhat rudely sculptured head with a cap or helmet, and on the reverse a sort of double cross with a ball or globe.

These coins, with the relic described above, doubtless formed a necklace, and with the bulla as the centre-piece, and the two gold medals on either side, must have constituted an ornament alike costly and magnificent in the eyes of the followers and subjects of the chief who bore it. I attribute to these medals a Frankish origin, for they appeared to me, in the very brief inspection I had of them, very similar to the examples found in the Sibertswold grave which are given by Mr. C. R. Smith in the "Inventorium Sepulchrale," No. 172, and ascribed by him to the Merovingian series, but a friend well skilled in numismatic lore, and to whom I sent a somewhat imperfect wax impression, owing to injury received in transmission, has given his opinion that they are the coins of Mauricius, who, first a notary born in Cappadocia, became afterwards a general, and A.D. 582 was raised to the Roman empire.

This Anglo-Saxon grave, if such it was, appears to exhibit some details which may give a different direction to our speculations, and

may afford another proof that in our eagerness to attribute all similar discoveries to the Jutish or Anglo-Saxon tribes, we too strictly ignore the existence of those other numerous island or continental sept or nations who at one period of the history of Europe were in a constant state of movement and progression, and who doubtless visited England, sword in hand, either as the allies of the Saxons or of the Danes, or as their rivals, claiming possession, or seeking conquests in lands more inviting, or less contested, than those which they had abandoned.

It is to be feared that this small but very choice collection of relics, so especially interesting to any Kentish antiquary, will be lost to the county. The Kent Archæological Society hoped, under the sanction of the Government, to obtain these remains for an Anglo-Saxon Museum in a central part of the county, where they would have been daily accessible to the inspection of the public, considering that such a repository could not be better established than in the heart of that district where the Saxons founded their first kingdom. But in this hope they have been disappointed, for after imagining that their offer would be accepted, to their disappointment they learned that another party had been fortunate enough to secure these relics. Had they received any intimation that a higher price was expected, they would have endeavoured to have met the views of their holder, in order that these remains might have been secured for their contemplated County Museum.

I am, etc. JOHN BRENT.

Antiquities found near the old Tilt-yard, Greenwich.

[1860, *Part I.*, pp. 202-203.]

In the early part of December, 1861, during the progress of excavations for making a new sewer at Greenwich, some antiquities were found under the wall of the old Tilt-yard, facing the Hospital. My attention was immediately called to the discovery by my brother, a resident of that town, and to whom the workmen had brought the relics in question. The depth at which the discovery was made was about 11 feet, being 5 feet under the foundation of the wall. Here, in a sort of gravelly deposit, were found, more or less perfect, what appeared to be three bronze fibulæ or plaques.

The discs of the relics are elaborately marked with a scroll-work pattern, each spiral starting from the common centre, then expanding into a leaf-like shape, and terminating towards the rim in another scroll. The substance of the patterns is an enamel of a dark green, upon a ground of enamel of a blood-red colour. A thin circle of silver surrounds each figure, and also the disc, and beyond it is a bronze rim, about a quarter of an inch in diameter.

The back of the ornament is bronze, apparently containing a large

proportion of copper. At the top of the fibula is a substantial bend or hook, terminating in a rude imitation of the head of a serpent; the under side of the extreme end is cut or filed away, as if it had been affixed to, or rested on, some substance. The weight of the most perfect specimen is one ounce and a quarter, and its diameter rather more than 2 inches. One of the discs is imperfect from the loss of the outer rim; the pattern also slightly varies.

With these ornaments was found a bronze ring about 1 inch in diameter.

The workmen came upon human bones in the same spot, and three skeletons were exhumed within 100 yards of the same locality.

There is a recess at the back of the most perfect of these fibulæ, as if it had contained a small mirror or reflector, and evident traces of its having been soldered.

These remains evidently belong to a class which it has somewhat perplexed antiquaries to distinguish. For a Roman, Romano-British, or an Anglo-Saxon origin reasons might be suggested. Mr. C. Roach Smith has called my attention to similar examples in the collections of Messrs. Bateman and Clayton, and to a girdle-clasp engraved in his own "Illustrated Catalogue," whilst a friend at Canterbury has strongly corroborated the opinion that these relics are of Anglo-Saxon origin by pointing out to me their striking resemblance not only in form and pattern, and in the enamel-work of the discs, but also in the curious terminal hook, to certain ornaments on the Anglo-Saxon copper bowl found in 1860 near Lullingstone, in Kent, and engraved in the third volume of the "Archæologia Cantiana."^o Indeed, the under part of the terminal hook is cut away in a manner as if expressly intended to rest on the rim of some vessel or utensil.

With the relics described as above, or in their vicinity, were found some bronze pins, and what the workmen called "bronze ring-money," but these articles were disposed of without my obtaining any authentic description of their nature.

I am, etc. JOHN BRENT, jun., F.S.A.

Another Anglo-Saxon Cemetery in East Kent.

[1866, *Part I.*, pp. 847-848.]

A few days since, in preparing land for a plantation, in the grounds of the Marquess Conyngham at Patricxbourne, in an area of about 100 feet diameter, eighteen Anglo-Saxon graves were discovered. They lay about east and west, as the graves at Sarre [*ante*, p. 178], and the interments were very similar in character, being cut into the solid chalk beneath 12 to 16 inches of upper soil. With the exception of one grave, which measured 6 feet in depth, the excavations varied from 2 feet to 4 feet, and in length 6 feet.

* See *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1861, p. 584 [a review of "Archæologia Cantiana"].

In this deep grave was found the characteristic two-edged Anglo-Saxon sword, the blade and handle measuring exactly 36 inches. With it lay an iron spear-head, an umbo, and a knife.

Two shield braces, each with a stud at one end, were also discovered with these remains.

In the other graves were found beads of glass, amber, and porcelain; also a smaller sword, which is of slighter make, and in length, handle included, 2 feet 7 inches, being similar to some examples found at Sarre. Also a well-preserved spear-head, the blade of which measures 13 inches; some bronze buckles, heart-shaped studs (fig. 2), and three iron knives, of the usual types.

As often occurs in these discoveries, one interment out of the group yielded more interesting relics than all the rest. A well-made grave produced about one hundred beads of glass, amber, porcelain, and of bugle pattern; an iron key, a long brooch or buckle, two or three other bronze buckles, a broad silver spiral ring, which was found on the left side, encircling the bone of the finger on which it rested at the time of its owner's interment (see fig. 3); two small circular bronze fibulæ, set with garnets, resembling several similar examples found in the Jutish graves of East Kent;* a large iron buckle; a circular stud, marked with a pattern (fig. 1); a knife, ferule, and an iron ring.

The long bronze buckle (fig. 4) is a novelty in shape and pattern: it is an elegant relic of Anglo-Saxon handicraft. It has at one end (the lower) a plate of silver, and is indented round its border; it exhibits a cruciform pattern, and its application to the deceased lady's dress was no doubt as ornamental as it was useful.

We have, I think, in these discoveries evidence of another Anglo-Saxon cemetery, and of one, perhaps, of some extent; for the area already examined, and not likely to be further investigated at present, is of small dimensions.

Nearly on the summit of a gently rising ground, looking towards the church and village of Bridge to the south-west and below it, opposite, with a bright little river sparkling through its meadows, lies Bifrons Park, a lovely vicinity for a last resting-place, with little of that wildness about it that the old Anglo-Saxons seemed to love, as indicated by their selections elsewhere.

Populous, too, must have been this neighbourhood, and selected for special reasons by the Jutes for their habitations and villages—for within the extent of a few miles we have many of their cemeteries: Adisham and Bishopsbourne Downs, with their tumuli explored by Mr. Bryan Faussett; together with Kingston, Barham, Ileden, and Breach Downs, the latter examined by the late Lord Londesborough; Bourne Park, by its owner, Mr. Bell; and Bridge Hill. Whilst

* See "*Archæologia Cantiana*," vol. v., plate I., no. 8, p. 314.

Wingham, Stodmarsh, and the rich and interesting cemetery at Gilton, lie distant only a few miles across the country from these localities.

I am, etc. JOHN BRENT, jun., F.S.A.

[1867, *Part II.*, pp. 76-78.]

Another interesting discovery of Anglo-Saxon, or rather, to speak more correctly, of Old English antiquities, has recently been made at Patricbourne, on the property of the Marquess Conyngham. You may perhaps remember that in May, 1866, in an area of 100 feet diameter, several ancient graves, described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June of that year, were opened, in preparing ground for a plantation at Bifrons, near Canterbury.

Further researches have now been made, and nineteen graves opened immediately contiguous to the locality of last year's researches. Indeed, from evidences which I have been able to gather of the discovery from time to time of detached interments, it is probable that nearly the whole extent of the side of the hill facing Bifrons Park is one continuous cemetery.

From an inspection with which I have been favoured of the relics, I can report as follows: The graves followed the usual conditions of similar interments, and were cut from 3 to 4½ feet deep into the soil, which, as is so commonly the case, is a chalk substratum.

Of weapons, one sword only, about thirty-five inches long, two-edged and straight-bladed, has been found; four spear-heads, and about six knives. From sixty to seventy beads, of various sizes, patterns, and substances, have been exhumed; six of these are of very pure crystal, and about the size of marbles; one, however, is of an hexagonal shape. The other beads are of the usual types, and contain amongst them specimens in amber, glass, and porcelain; one, however, being a peculiar green glass bead of bugle shape, and more than an inch in length.

The disputed point that the Anglo-Saxon or Jutish ladies wore chatelaines is, I think, decided by specimens from these graves, two of these objects being present amongst the remains—one a long tubular suspensor of bronze, with bronze ring, and another (see engraving No. 4), a ring upon which are suspended nine little bronze plates, some being triangular, others diamond-shaped, and parallelograms; some bearing markings, or distinct traces of lines, as if symbolical—in fact, to all appearance, charms. The whole is very interesting. Amongst the discoveries was a silver spoon, perforated by nine holes, and two ear-rings (see engraving No. 3). The latter objects were thin silver plates of a lozenge-shape, highly ornamented with the usual devices. Both specimens had had an oblong stone or gem in the centre; only one, however, remained—it was a purple stone, probably of lapis lazuli.

There were seven or eight fibulæ, clasps, or ornamented buckles.

One is a very large cruciform brooch, highly ornamented and about 6 inches long, of bronze gilded, and exactly resembling the fibula found on Linton Heath, Cambridgeshire, by the Hon. Mr. Neville, and described in plate 37 in Mr. Akerman's "Saxon Pagandom." The uncouth effigy of a human face terminates this ornament.

In the collection are also three small gold-washed fibulæ (see "Saxon Pagandom," plate 34, figs. 4 and 6). These examples are enriched with archaic devices. Also a small gold brooch of five garnets, of very elegant shape and workmanship (see engraving No. 1). Two bronze cruciform fibulæ, and two small saucer-shaped fibulæ, with the rude outlines of a human countenance. A piece of tubular wire, like a spring; the worm is very close and accurately made. I am at a loss to divine its use.

Amongst the brooches are two united by snaps, very like those commonly attached to ladies' sash-girdles. The patterns are elaborate, and the designs completely northern.

Two ornaments, worked also with some knots and scrolls, gold-washed, and of elongated rectangular shapes, somewhat similar to, but smaller than those objects found at Sarr in 1864, grave 233, and probably designed to be attached to a band or leathern belt (see engraving No. 2).

I might add, four glass vessels were also found. One was unfortunately broken; two have been partially repaired; and one, a perfect specimen, 6 inches long by $2\frac{3}{4}$ at the mouth, is very similar, but not so long as the extremely elegant glass vessel described in plate 39, vol. vi., of Mr. C. Roach Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua."

I may mention a long bronze bodkin or hair-pin, ornamented down the shank with lines, and having an hexagonal head. It is $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches long.

Altogether the collection is one of great interest, and contains more choice articles than are often collected in so small a compass. There were some minute objects in bronze which time did not permit me fully to examine. Some of the beads also deserve a more minute description, as well as the gold-washed cruciform fibula, than I have been able to give in this brief account. The locality whence these antiquities were exhumed is undoubtedly the most prolific in Kent, perhaps in all England, of Anglo-Saxon remains. Within the compass of a few miles we have Kingston, Bourn, Barham, Adisham, Ileden, and Breach Downs, all of which have produced cemeteries, and some of them extensive ones. We are led to a conclusion, I think not unwarranted, that this district must either have been extremely populous, and a favourite settlement of the Jutes of Kent, or that the dead were gathered together on these chalk hills and downs from a distance. As no cemetery has ever yet been discovered for the Anglo-Saxon population of Canterbury—Chartham, distant four miles, being the nearest locality where relics have been found

similar to those which I have been describing—we may ask, did custom, religion, or convenience devote these hills and slopes as the last resting-places of the “Cant Wara Byrig,” the city of the men or dwellers of Kent? Further researches, and a patient attention to the inquiry, may perhaps in a few years decisively solve the problem.

I am, etc. JOHN BRENT, jun.

Horton Kirby.

[1867, *Part II.*, pp. 82, 83.]

Within the last month an Anglo-Saxon cemetery has been brought to light at Horton Kirby, by diggings made for the foundations of houses on the slope of the high ground adjoining the London, Chatham and Dover Railway, on the eastern side of the viaduct, near the Farningham Road Station. Several graves had been opened, and the contents dispersed, before special attention was directed to the importance of the discovery; but, fortunately, information was soon given to the Rev. R. P. Coates, of Darenth, who immediately proceeded to the spot, and took measures to ensure the proper examination of the graves hitherto undisturbed. At the same time Mr. Coates collected some of the antiquities which had not been carried away by the workmen; and he kindly invited me to assist him in examining the site. During two days we accordingly attended, and with some labourers laid open several graves; and determined on suggesting to the Kentish Archæological Society the expediency of making a careful exploration of the locality. The portion of the cemetery examined by us evidently had been restricted to the poorer population of the neighbourhood. The graves were sunk superficially only in the chalk, and cut without care or method, contrary to those of the wealthier class, which are usually sunk deep in the chalk, and smoothly cut and finished. In several instances they had not been made long enough for the bodies to be extended at full length, and consequently the skeletons had the appearance of being doubled up or distorted so as to fit the graves. The bones were generally much decomposed, and in the graves of children had entirely disappeared. The social position of the tenants of the graves we examined was, moreover, proved by the total absence of weapons and ornaments in many, and of the humble character of the objects deposited in others. In nearly all, however, a small knife was found near the left hip, especially in the graves of women. The most interesting of those we opened disclosed a saucer-shaped fibula, in bronze gilt, near the left shoulder of the skeleton; a small bronze sheath upon the breast; by the left hip a key and a knife attached to a ring, all in iron; and by the right hip a bone spindle-whorl—implements peculiarly characteristic of the Saxon woman, as also of the English housewife, down to the last

century. From a grave opened previously to our superintendence, Mr. Coates obtained a larger example of the saucer-shaped fibula, having in the centre a cruciform pattern, between the limbs of which are rudely-formed grotesque human heads: the smaller is set with red glass or garnet. Fibulæ of this kind are very common in Saxon graves in Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Gloucestershire; but hitherto they have only been sparingly found in Kent: no example occurred in the numerous graves in East Kent opened by Bryan Faussett. In one of the Horton graves, it may be mentioned, was a small whetstone.

C. ROACH SMITH.

Faversham.

[1858, *Part II.*, p. 512.]

Some very interesting additions to our Anglo-Saxon collections have recently been made in various parts of Kent, and particularly near Faversham. They bear a very close analogy to the celebrated Faussett collection, with the addition of some superb horse-furniture in bronze, elaborately worked with interlacing pattern, partly silvered and set with garnets. All the interments of the Saxon period denoted burial of the body entire. Adjoining the cemetery, however, were found Roman cinerary urns. The juxtaposition of Roman and Saxon burial-places has been noted at Sittingbourne and Strood, and at several other localities in Kent and in other counties.

Further discoveries of Saxon remains have also been found at Bowcombe Down, near Carisbrooke, in the Isle of Wight, the scene of excavations made by Mr. Hillier, and recorded in his history of the island. They were accidentally brought to light, and would have been destroyed but for the exertions of Mr. John Lock, who spared no pains to save them.

[1866, *Part II.*, p. 336.]

The Anglo-Saxon cemetery near Faversham has not yet ceased to afford remains of art not inferior to the remarkable examples heretofore discovered. During the present year Mr. Gibbs has added to his collection what seem to be the products of two graves of persons of distinction. The ornaments in gold are particularly elegant. One circular pendant the size of a half-crown is decorated with three arrangements of garnets, representing the necks and heads of horses springing from a circular concave centre, which probably was originally set with a jewel, the field of the gold plate being covered with filigree work of the most delicate description. Another pendant, of a novel kind, is no less beautiful. There is a fine sword; and a bronze bowl of the capacity of about half a gallon, quite different in some respects from any heretofore discovered. It stands upon a circular perforated foot, like many others; but the upper rim, instead of being plain, projects outwards an inch, and is *vandyked*. It has two moveable triangular handles, one of which is a restoration in *iron*. There

are also two elegant glass vessels, an armlet, beads, etc., and a gold Merovingian coin.

Stowting.

[1866, *Part II.*, p. 758.]

Mr. John Brent, to whom we owe so much for his discoveries at Sarre and other localities in this county, is at the present moment making excavations on the site of the Saxon cemetery at Stowting, which some years ago, owing to the vigilance and care of the Rev. F. Wrench, contributed interesting materials for the study of our Saxon funereal customs. Mr. Wrench himself printed an illustrated account of his discoveries, and a report was also laid before the Society of Antiquaries and published in their 'Archæologia.' Mr. Brent has opened upwards of twelve graves, in which he has found some bronze ornaments, fibulæ, beads; gold braid, found round a skull, as at Sarre; a very perfect wooden stoup or pail bound with brass, a very elegant bronze bodkin, a bronze key attached to the remains of a wooden box, and other objects, including two Roman coins, one of which is of Constantine. The key is of Roman type; but Mr. Brent suggests that it may be of Anglo-Saxon make, as it evidently belonged to the wooden box, which he considers can hardly be supposed Roman to have been preserved so long as to be deposited in a Saxon grave.

Burford, Oxfordshire.

[1814, *Part II.*, pp. 597-598.]

Nov. 21st.—As some workmen were employed in digging a road from Burford, county Oxford, to Barrington, in Gloucestershire, about a mile distant from the former place they discovered, 6 inches beneath the surface of the earth, an immense stone coffin lying north and south, which after three successive days' labour in clearing away the surrounding mould, was found to contain a perfect male skeleton of middle stature, having all the teeth entire. Unfortunately for the curious, the labourers (supposing it to be a treasure), in their haste to be satisfied, broke through the lid of the coffin, which was very closely fitted in a rabbet or groove with cement; and by their rude efforts threw into confusion the bones of one whom it is not improbable had lain unmolested upwards of one thousand years. The coffin in shape differs from any I have ever seen or heard of, and weighs nearly three tons: it was with much difficulty moved to an aisle called Sylvester's, in Burford Church. Its admeasurements are externally 6 feet 7 inches in length, 2 feet 9 inches depth at head, 2 feet 3 inches depth at feet, width very irregular. Internally it measures 5 feet 11 inches in length, 1 foot 9 inches depth at head, 1 foot 4 inches depth at feet. The lid, of the same shape as the coffin, is 6 inches thick, and dropt in a rabbet 4 inches deep and 1½ inch

wide. On examining the coffin, a number of short nails with conical heads were found completely oxidated and matted together in pieces of hide; of which materials, from the circumstance of the nails being thickly placed and clenched through several layers of the hide, it is highly probable a shield was formed. From the concurring testimony of the adjacent spot still bearing the name of Battlehedge, and from the ancient custom of carrying about the town of Burford the figure of a Dragon on Midsummer eve, it may not be deemed presumptuous to fix the antiquity of the aforesaid coffin and its contents as early as the middle of the eighth century, when several of our historians* record a battle to have been fought near Burford, between the Mercian King Ethelbald and the West Saxon King Cuthred or Cuthbert, in consequence of the former's overbearing exactions on the latter, in which contest Ethelbald was subdued, and lost his banner, said to have borne the picture of a Golden Dragon.

T. H. HUNT, Oxford.

Sepulchral Remains in Pagan Rutland.

[1863, *Part II.*, p. 34.]

We have on several occasions alluded to discoveries made on the site of an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery between North Luffenham and Edithweston, the land being the property of W. R. Morris, Esq., of the former place. The discoveries consist of articles in gold, bronze, iron, glass, pottery, etc., in the form of fibulæ, tweezers, ear-picks, swords, knives, bosses of shields, beads, cinerary urns, etc. They have been found when excavating for sand, of which there is a very fine bed under the soil in which these relics were embedded. When the men were engaged in removing some of the soil in May last, they found at about 3 feet from the surface two more bronze fibulæ, and about a dozen glass and earthenware beads. Several of the beads were tastefully variegated with stripes of brilliant red and green colours in the form of St. Andrew's cross, but this ornament also could have no connection with Christianity. Mr. Morris has now a large collection of beads, found on the same site, the majority of them being glass of various colours, the ruby being very beautiful. The most prominent portions of the Anglo-Saxon antiquities found in the parish of North Luffenham are the cinerary urns. The pottery of this period found in England occurs chiefly in the cemeteries where cremation was practised—that is, in Mercia and East Anglia, and consists of burial urns. They are usually made with the hand, without the use of the lathe, of a dark-coloured clay, and are not well baked: their colour is generally a dark brown, passing either to a

* See Speed's "Chronicle," p. 343; also Samines' "Antiquities of Britain," p. 557; who says at Burford, Shropshire, which is very improbable when situation and distance are considered.

black or to a dark green tint. The land on either side of Mr. Morris's belongs to Lord Aveland, and near is another gravel-pit where similar sepulchral remains have been found on removing the surface soil, including a battle-axe, no similar weapon of war having been discovered on Mr. Morris's land. The collection of Pagan relics at North Luffenham is a remarkable one, and it will doubtless be further augmented as the excavation extends. The antiquary may rest assured that the greatest care will be exercised in preserving these antiquities and also all others that may be brought to light by Mr. Morris's labourers.—*Stamford Mercury*.

Chichester.

[1792, *Part II.*, pp. 593, 594.]

In the background is seen Bow, or Four Barrow Hill, so called from four large barrows which are placed on the ridge of a high hill, not more than 60 yards over, running out in a promontory beyond the other Downs, commanding a most beautiful and extensive prospect eastward to Beachy Head; southward, the sea, with the isles of Hayling, Thorney, and White; west, the Dorset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire hills; north, through different breaks of the hills, is discovered Leeth Hill, in Surrey, and the hills in the north of Hampshire; at five miles south-east from the hills lies Chichester, and its beautiful spire south-west; and at a greater distance is Spithead and Portsmouth, with the ships of war laid up in Stokes Bay, completing this enchanting scene. I know of few places more desirable for the northern nations to deposit their dead on. The barrows form nearly a right line, running north and south, two barrows at each end, and are each of them surrounded by a trench of 18 feet in width, are of a bell shape, and concave on the top. The second barrow at the south end is the only one that remains perfect, is 51 feet high from the middle of the trench, and appears to be finished with greater care and exactness than the others, so that the mouldering hand of Time has not robbed it of the beauty of its workmanship and shape. The other three, man has assisted in their destruction, they having been opened, one not many years since, in which, as I have been informed, were found bones mixed with ashes. The southernmost barrow stands 57 feet within an entrenchment, with a ditch inwards, which appears to be carried round the top of the hill in an irregular form, but tending to circular. Between the first and second south barrows is a small circular hollow of 15 feet diameter, with a narrow raised rim, not more than a foot in height. On the north side of the second south barrow is another hollow of the same form, and 18 feet in diameter; and, at equal distances between the two north barrows, is a third, of 15 feet diameter.

If I may be permitted to hazard a conjecture, to which I am led by

the following circumstances, viz., the name tradition fixes on the barrows, the King's Graves, the name of the bottom directly under, called by some Kingsley, *i.e.*, King's Field, by others Kill-king bottom (where some years ago was held a large fair, but now disused, and remarkable for nothing but the beauty of its retired situation, and the number of exceeding large yew-trees growing thereon) ; and its being on the borders of the South Saxon kingdom, against Wessex ; at this place I should fix the scene of contention between Edelwalch, king of the South Saxons, and Cadwalla, an exiled nobleman of Wessex, in the year 680, in which battle Edelwalch lost his life, and perhaps was buried in one of the barrows directly above ; the second barrow from the south, by the superiority of its workmanship, bids fair for the spot ; and the victor was so roughly handled as to be unable to improve his advantage ; but, after his accession to the throne of Wessex, anno 685, he again invaded the South Saxons, and reduced them in subjection to the kingdom of Wessex. The number of slain appears to have been great from the number of barrows dispersed all over the hills, some of them very large ; at the foot of the hill, to the south-east, their numbers are very great, I having told not less than 20 of different sizes on a piece of ground not exceeding four acres. They are placed as nigh one to the other as possible, and cover the ground in rude confusion.

EXPLANATION OF THE SECTION.

AA, surface of the hill ; *a*, trench surrounding the top of the hill ; *bb*, from the middle of the trench to the top of the barrow, 51 feet ; *cc*, outside of the south barrow to the first circular hollow, 5 feet ; *cd*, diameter of the first hollow, 15 feet ; *dd*, from the first hollow to the second barrow, 3 feet ; *dD*, width of the trench 18 feet ; *ee*, from the middle of the trench to the top of the barrow, 51 feet ; *ef*, from the top of the barrow to the centre of the concavity, 15 feet ; *gg*, from the second barrow to the second circular hollow, 21 feet ; *gh*, diameter of the second hollow, 18 feet ; *hh*, distance from second south barrow to the first north barrow, 115 yards ; *ii*, from the first north barrow to the third circular hollow, 39 feet ; *ik*, diameter of the third hollow, 15 feet ; *kk*, from the third hollow to the second north barrow, 39 feet ; HH, height of the first north barrow, 27 feet ; KK, height of the second north barrow, 39 feet. S.

Saxon Burial-Place near Salisbury.

[1853, *Part II.*, pp. 514, 515.]

Excavations recently made at Harnham Hill, near Salisbury, under the direction of J. Y. Akerman, Esq., the Resident Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, have disclosed the remains of an extensive Saxon burial-place. About sixty-five skeletons have been

discovered, and among the bones have been found some very curious Saxon ornaments, including beads, amber amulets, buckles, fibulæ, a ring like a hoop twisted twice round the finger, spear-heads, the boss of a shield, the remains of a small casket, a comb, and, with other things, a bodkin, ear-pick, etc., attached to a ring and worn by a lady, apparently like a modern *chatelaine*. There have also been found a fork, a gold ring in all respects like a wedding-ring, a solitary knuckle-bone of a sheep, suggesting the game of *tali*, a small article with marks on it like a domino, and a Roman coin of the time of Constantine. In compliance with the wish of a numerous body of the citizens of Salisbury, these antiquities were exhibited in the Council Chamber, where, at the request of the Mayor, Mr. Akerman offered a few remarks upon them to the following effect:—"In the summer of the present year I saw an announcement in the local newspapers of the discovery of the umbo of a shield and spear-head, on Harnham Hill. Having for many years past made our Anglo-Saxon antiquities my study, and having explored many Saxon burial-places in various counties of England, I at once concluded that this locality was the site of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, and wrote to your townsman, Mr. William Fawcett, for particulars. Mr. Fawcett communicated with his noble landlord, Lord Folkestone, and the result is before you. The spot is called the Low Field, not because it is in a low tract of ground, but from its having been at one time covered with *hæwas*, or tumuli, those small conical barrows, of which a great number may yet be perceived in various parts of England, but especially in Kent. They are not to be confounded with the larger tumuli, which form such conspicuous objects on our Wiltshire Downs, and which are ascertained to be of an earlier period. It is the opinion of some of our antiquaries that Anglo-Saxon interments were of two kinds, that is to say, tumular and non-tumular; but, with all respect for such opinion, I cannot assent to it. The very word burial (*bury*, a word of Anglo-Saxon origin) shows that the grave was covered with a mound. Thousands of these mounds have, like those at Harnham, been obliterated by the operations of the husbandman: the ploughshare and the spade have destroyed, in numberless instances, the traces of our Anglo-Saxon cemeteries before the introduction of Christianity, when the Pagan mode of interment was abandoned, though perhaps gradually and reluctantly, and the bodies of the converted were interred within the graveyards attached to the newly-erected churches. The first systematic exploration of the Barrows of this period was undertaken by the Rev. J. Douglas, about sixty years since, who published an account of his discoveries, and showed that the grouped tumuli in Kent must be ascribed to a much later period than had been assigned to them by antiquaries of the Stukeley school—in fact, to the period embraced within the arrival of the Saxons in England and their conversion to Christianity.

From the time of Douglas nothing had been done by way of further investigation of these cemeteries until about twelve years ago, when Lord Londesborough (then Lord Albert Conyngham) undertook, at my instigation, the examination of a considerable number of barrows in East Kent, the result of which was the discovery of many relics similar to those now before you." Mr. Akerman then alluded to similar investigations made since in other parts of England; and, recurring to the Harnham antiquities, stated his belief that the remains discovered were of persons previous to the introduction of Christianity. "It is just possible," he said, "though I think we have no proofs whatever of the fact, that some of the bodies found here were those of individuals who had been converted to the true faith; but appearances are against such a supposition. I have hinted at the possibility of such being the case, because we find in the Capitularies of Charlemagne a mandate directing that the bodies of Christian men shall no longer be consigned to the tumuli of the Pagans, but interred within the precincts of the church—a proof that the heathen mode of interment still lingered among his subjects. If anything would favour the conjecture that some of the bodies interred at Harnham were those of Christians, it is the fact that some of them were unaccompanied by any object of personal use or ornament. Several skeletons have been found without the accompanying knife or any object whatever; but nothing definite can be deduced from this. Many pagan customs were allowed by the primitive clergy, provided they were in themselves harmless. On the other hand, the laws of the Franks, the old Saxons, and the Visigoths, denounce with heavy penalties those who shall despoil a corpse either before or after burial—a sufficient proof that the crime was so common as to call for a specific enactment. To this cause we may perhaps assign the absence of relics in some of the Harnham interments. I have said that thousands of tumuli of the Anglo-Saxon period have been obliterated by the ploughshare and the spade; and this must be manifest to anyone who has perused our Anglo-Saxon charters, in which "the heathen burials" are frequently named in the recitals of boundaries. Further, the word *Meow* gives name to many places in England, as Ludlow, Taplow, Winslow, Onslow, and, in this neighbourhood, Winterslow. In the graveyard of Ludlow a tumulus once existed, and in that of Taplow one exists at this time." Mr. Akerman then directed attention to the numerous antiquities arranged on the table, which it is understood to be Lord Folkestone's determination to present to the British Museum.

Discovery of Anglo-Saxon Remains near Scarborough.

[1857, *Part II.*, p. 551.]

Some interesting Saxon funereal deposits have been recently brought to light near Scarborough. There is a knoll of chalk rock

which forms almost the whole of the high land called Seamer Moor, a great part of which has been cut away by a very extensive lime-quarry. A few days ago the wife of one of the quarrymen brought into Scarborough several gold ornaments and other articles, and sold them to a shopkeeper, from whom they soon passed to Lord Londesborough. Having ascertained the spot where these objects had been found, Lord Londesborough resolved immediately to have the place dug, and on Thursday last he and Mr. Thomas Wright (then on a visit to his lordship) commenced researches. In sifting the earth that had been thrown down, there was found a beautiful lozenge-shaped pendant, set with stones, an extremely elegant gold pin with an enamelled head, several fragments of other ornaments, and a great quantity of fragments of iron and pottery. The ground above was then trenched, but only one grave was found. It contained a skeleton, with a few ordinary articles in bronze and iron. The objects accidentally met with comprise the gold pendant and pin mentioned above, a bulla consisting of an onyx set in gold, a small gold ring, a large ornamental gold ring, a silver ring resembling the last in size and form, two ornaments in gold which appear to have belonged to earrings, a large ring-formed fibula of silver, fragments of a band of plaited silver wire, a number of beads of different sizes and materials, a small urn in very perfect condition, and various other articles. The gold ornaments give especial interest to this discovery. It is seldom the more precious metals are met with in the Saxon graves of the midland counties: and we do not call to mind an instance of their having been discovered in interments of this epoch so far north. The graves of Kent are by far the richest, as is evidenced by the ornaments in the museums of Lord Londesborough and Mr. Mayer.

The supposed Anglo-Saxon Remains from Kertch.

[1857, *Part II.*, p. 474.]

It is now a considerable time since paragraphs appeared in the journals announcing that among the antiquities excavated by Dr. McPherson at Kertch, and subsequently deposited in the British Museum, are some Anglo-Saxon fibulæ. This statement has been repeated in various ways and in several publications without qualification or reservation, up to the present time, when Dr. McPherson himself, in a very interesting account of his discoveries which he has published,* designates the fibulæ Anglo-Saxon, and considers that the tombs from which they were obtained, together with glass vessels and other objects, were the burial-places of soldiers of the Varangian Guard, which, about the tenth century, became the body-guard of the

* "Antiquities of Kertch, and Researches in the Cimmerian Bosphorus," by Duncan McPherson, M.D. London: 1857.

Byzantine emperors. This appears to be not only Dr. McPherson's own opinion, but that also of other gentlemen of known eminence in matters of antiquity ; and the only doubt on the subject seems to be whether the fibulæ can be so late as the tenth or eleventh century, which they must be if attributed to the Varangi. There appears to be no diversity of opinion as to their being really and truly Anglo-Saxon, early or late ; at least, I have heard no doubts expressed. I therefore venture to offer, through your columns, a few remarks on these fibulæ.

I do not think we are at all warranted in referring these objects either to the Varangi or to the Anglo-Saxons of earlier times. Had the tombs from which Dr. McPherson excavated them been of a Teutonic origin, it would have been less anachronic to have ascribed them to some of the soldiers from the North of Europe who, in the later days of the Roman Empire, were quartered in the East, as we learn from the *Notitia*. But the interments bear no resemblance to those of the Teutonic nations ; and had it not been for the fibulæ, they would have been called Roman or Byzantine, without hesitation.

The fibulæ certainly do resemble, in a remarkable degree, two classes of the Anglo-Saxon, which may be called the radiated and the cruciform. The latter of these are not engraved in Dr. McPherson's volume ; but I understand they were found at Kertch in the same tombs. The former have long shanks, with a bow in the centre, the upper part radiated, and the ends of the spokes set with garnets. A variety has the spokes curved in the shape of the head of a bird ; and this variety I am not aware has ever been found in England, but it is common to France and Germany. The other variety of the radiated class is by no means common to our Saxon graves ; two or three have been found in Kent, one in the Isle of Wight, one in Essex, one in Lincolnshire, and perhaps a very few more might be enumerated ; but the cruciform fibula is of common occurrence in the Saxon cemeteries in the eastern and midland counties.

The inference I draw from the presence of these fibulæ in the tombs of Kertch is, not that they are Anglo-Saxon, but that they and their counterparts in England have sprung from a common source, and that that source is Roman. The Roman influence upon all Saxon works of art is more or less striking ; and Dr. McPherson's remarkable discovery will, I hope, lead to further facts which, there is every reason to believe, will be of importance towards the study of our Saxon antiquities. If, upon full search, it should not appear that such objects are commonly found in the East, then, of course, the Kertch fibulæ must be attributed to some such accidental circumstance as Dr. McPherson suggests.

C. ROACH SMITH.

Anglo-Saxon Local Antiquities.



ANGLO-SAXON LOCAL ANTIQUITIES.

Coronation Stone at Kingston-upon-Thames.

[1850, *Part II.*, pp. 380, 381.]

THE coronations of seven of the Saxon Kings of England are recorded as having taken place at Kingston-on-Thames, viz:

- 924. Athelstan, by Archbishop Aldhelm.
- 940. Edmund, } by Archbishop Otho.
- 946. Edred, }
- all three sons of Edward the Elder.
- 959. Edgar.
- 975. Edward the Martyr, his son.
- 978. Ethelred II., brother of Edward.
- 1016. Edmund II.

The rude stone on which they were crowned formerly stood against the old Town Hall, in the Market Place, and was removed to the yard of the Assize Courts, on the building of a new one in 1837; where it has remained, preserved, it is true, but almost unobserved, to the present time. The Town Council having had their attention called to the matter, appointed a committee to consider it, and eventually selected a suitable plan for its preservation, designed by Mr. C. E. Davis, of Bath, and also made a grant of money towards defraying the cost of erection; the remainder of the funds required were raised by private contribution. The coronation stone has been placed on a septagonal block of stone, 6 feet in diameter and 15 inches thick, standing in the centre of seven stone pillars, connected together by an iron railing, moulded after a design presumed to be characteristic of the period. These pillars and the septagonal form of the monument are in allusion to the seven kings crowned in the town; and, thanks to the kindness of Mr. J. D. Cuffe, of the Bank of England, and of Mr. W. Hawkins, a penny of each monarch was placed under their respective names. Speed mentions nine kings, namely, Edward the Elder, son of the Great Alfred, in 900, and Edwy, son of Edmund,

in 955, in addition to the list above given ; but as other authorities state only seven, the smaller number has been adopted. The shafts of the pillars are of blue Purbeck stone polished, and the capitals of Caen stone carved with Saxon devices. The spot chosen for the monument seems most appropriate, for tradition has always fixed it as the site of the palace of the Saxon monarchs ; it is in the open space near Clattern Bridge, in front of the Assize Courts at the entrance of the Market Place, where almost one thousand years ago some of the coronations took place, the others being probably in the church. An additional interest is thrown around the stone by the probability that the veneration in which it was held by the Saxons did not originate with themselves, but had descended from the Ancient Britons, by whom it might have been held sacred for inaugurations and other solemn and important ceremonies from a very remote period ; and some weight is given to this conjecture by the fact of the stone being a grey wether, or Druids' stone, similar in geological character to those of Stonehenge. If this deduction be correct, the Kingston crowning stone is in itself extremely curious, and may lay claim to very great antiquity, without assigning to it quite so many years as are given to the stone in Westminster Abbey, on which the coronations of our own monarchs to the present day take place.

Being aware that some doubts upon the claim of Kingston-upon-Thames to be regarded as the Kingston of the Saxon Chronicle had been entertained by Mr. Benjamin Williams, F.S.A., of Hillingdon,* we addressed an inquiry to that gentleman, which has produced a reply which we have much pleasure in appending, inasmuch as it will be satisfactory to the raisers of this monument.

"Mention is made of the coronation of seven of our Anglo-Saxon kings at Kingston, from Edward the Elder, in 900, to Æthelred II in 978.

"It is remarkable that none of our early chroniclers have identified the Kingston in question. John of Bromton, indeed, says that Ædwy was crowned at 'Kingston-juxta-Londinium,' but his work was drawn up after the middle of the fourteenth century.

"I had formed an opinion that the Kingston at which one or more consecrations took place was Kingston-Bagpuze, in Berkshire, a town of some importance at the time of the Domesday survey, and more particularly that of Æthelstan, who was chosen king by the Mercians in 925, and whose predecessors died at 'Fearndūn amongst the Mercians,' which has been supposed to be Faringdon, in Berkshire. The following facts influenced my opinion : First, King Alfred had a town or fortress (beorh) at Kingston-Bagpuze.† Secondly, numerous Saxon coins and an immense quantity of metal celts have been found there. Thirdly, witans were held at Hanney and Shifford, which adjoin

* See "Proceedings Soc. Antiq.," vol. ii., p. 38.

† Cod. Dipl. Nos. 1276 and 1277.

Kingston-Bagpuze, and at Abingdon and Witney (Witan-ige), not far distant.

“It is no objection to allege that this is now an insignificant village ; for so is Sutton, near Abingdon, although in the years 821 and 1042 it was a ‘villa regalis.’* But on reference to Kemble’s invaluable ‘Saxon Charters,’ it will be found that a great council was held, in the year 838, ‘at the famous town of Kingston, in Surrey ;’† and, in a charter of King Eadred’s, anno 946, Kingston is mentioned as ‘the royal town where consecration is accustomed to be performed ;’‡ whilst a third charter, dated from ‘the royal town of Kingston,’ conveys numerous lands in Surrey :§ so that the united evidence of these charters appears to set the question at rest.

“Sept. 4th, 1850.”

“B. WILLIAMS.

The inauguration of the monument took place on Thursday the 19th of September, in the presence of the Mayor and Corporation, attended by the burgesses and a numerous assembly of visitors.

Who were the Anglo-Saxon Kings who were Crowned at Kingston ?

[1851, *Part II.*, pp. 125-130.]

The circumstances commemorated in your magazine for October, 1850, have brought before the public mind the fact that Kingston-upon-Thames claims to be the ancient place of coronation of our Anglo-Saxon kings, but the real solid ground upon which its claim unquestionably rests has not been satisfactorily shown, nor has it been made to appear with anything like accuracy or certainty which of the Anglo-Saxon kings received the regal anointing on that ancient stone which the people of Kingston have lately so properly secured against destruction. I have in the following paper thrown together all the historical evidence with which I am acquainted upon these subjects, and beg permission now to submit it to your readers.

I shall, in the first place, adduce the evidence which proves that at a period of very remote antiquity Kingston was not merely a royal town, a distinction which it shared with many other less celebrated spots, but that it was a royal town of peculiar dignity and importance ; “that famous or distinguished place,” as it is termed in several ancient documents, “which is called Cyningestun, in the county of Surrey.” Upon this subject we have the evidence of six charters, all of them of great interest, printed by Mr. Kemble in his “Codex Diplomaticus,” and ranging from the date of A.D. 838 to that of A.D. 1020.

The first charter is one of King Ecgberht, of Wessex, granted A.D.

* Cod. Dipl., Nos. 214 and 762.

† *Ibid.*, No. 240.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 411.

§ *Ibid.*, No. 363.

838 at a council or assembly held "in illo famoso loco qui appellatur Cingestun, in regione Suthreie."*

The second charter was also granted at the same council of A.D. 838, described as held "in illa famosa loco quæ appellatur Cynigestun in regione Suthregie . . . anno dominice incarnationis DCCCXXXVIII."†

The third charter, one of King Æthelstan, dated A.D. 933, thus concludes: "Hoc vero constitutum fuit et confirmatum in regali villa quæ Angliæ Kingestone vocatur;" a statement sufficiently curious if it indicates the rise of our English form of "Kingston" as opposed to its Anglo-Saxon predecessor. "Cynigestunc."‡

The fourth charter, one of King Æthelstan, Oct. 6th, A.D. 943, is dated "in villa quæ dicitur Kyngeston."§

The fifth charter not only mentions the place, Kingston, but attests the fact of a coronation there. It is a charter of Eadred, "Anno dominicæ incarnationis 946, contigit post obitum Eadmundi regis . . . quod Eadred frater ejus uterinus, electione optimatum subrogatus, pontificali auctoritate eodem anno catholice est rex et rector, ad regna quadripartiti regiminis consecratus, qui denique rex in villa quæ dicitur regis, Cyngestun, ubi et consecratio peracta est."||

The sixth charter is an Anglo-Saxon charter of Canute, granted between 1016 and 1020. It begins—"Here is made known in this deed the agreement that Godwine made with Byrthric when he wooed his daughter," which "was gespečen æt Cinggestune beforan Cnute Cincge on Lyfinges arcebiscopes gewitnesse" (which was spoken, that is, agreed upon *viob voce*, at Kingstone, before Canute, the King, upon the witness of Archbishop Lyfinge).¶

Now these authorities show the importance of Kingston, not merely as a royal vill, but as a place for the holding of royal assemblies, and, what is specially to our present purpose, one of them marks it out as the scene of an actual coronation. However turbulent the times, or uncertain the custom, a place once set apart for royal sepulture or regal inaugurations is generally so hallowed by prescriptive opinion and feeling, that it rarely loses for a course of years its local influence. There seems no doubt whatever that Kingston is entitled to the distinction of having been one of the royal towns appointed for the latter purpose in the period comprised within our Anglo-Saxon annals.

* Kemble's "Codex," v. 91.

† *Ibid.*, i. 318, 319. The memoranda of confirmation appended to these first and second charters fix the date of the death of Egbert—a date given with great uncertainty by almost every writer. The memorandum in the second charter is rather the more precise of the two, and thus concludes: "Anno ab incarnatione Christi 839, indictione 2, primo videlicet anno regni Ethelwulfi regis post obitum patris sui."

‡ Kemble's "Codex," ii. 194.
Ibid., ii. 268.

§ *Ibid.*, v. 278.
¶ *Ibid.*, iv. 10.

We will now consider what historical evidence there exists as regards the actual coronations of Anglo-Saxon monarchs at Kingston.

The first monarch claimed as having been crowned at Kingston is Edward the Elder, son of King Alfred. He was chosen by the nobles, and crowned at the Whitsuntide after his father's death, 16th May, A.D. 902. (William of Malmesbury, ed. T. D. Hardy, vol. i. p. 194.) According to the chronicle of Ralph de Diceto,* he was crowned at Kingston by Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury; but the chronicle of Johannes Brompton asserts that the ceremony was performed by Ethulred the Archbishop,† A.D. 901.

If the Saxon Chronicle may be followed, there are two errors in this statement, for Ethelred is there stated to have died in A.D. 888 (Petrie's "Historians," p. 362), or according to Florent. Wigorn. (Thorpe, vol. i., p. 108) in the following year. He was succeeded by Plegmund, who died A.D. 923. There are some curious lines by Peter Langtoft in his chronicle (Hearne, vol. i., p. 26), which would seem to imply that the crown was assumed by Edward the Elder at St. Paul's:

"After this Alfred King Edward the Olde,
Fair man he was, I wis, stalwarth and bolde;
At London at St. Poules toke he the croune
And purveied his parlement of Erle and Baronne;
He seid unto them all :—' that purveied it should be
That in all the land suld be no King but he.'"

This was probably asserted with reference to the contest for the succession by Ethelwold, who was appointed by the Northumbrian Danes their sovereign at York over all other kings and chiefs. (Turner's "Anglo-Saxon History," vol. ii. 167.) Edward the Elder died at Faringdon, A.D. 924, according to the authorities quoted by Sir F. Palgrave, "English Commonwealth," vol. ii., p. 243, and the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 925 (Petrie's "Historians," p. 382).

Upon his death, and that of Ethelward, the Anglo-Saxon sceptre was given by the witenagemot to Athelstan, who was crowned at Kingston by Athelm, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 925.‡ The following extract from Sharpe's translation of William of Malmesbury is an apt illustration of the coronation festival and the general state of public feeling towards the new sovereign :

"The nobles meet, the crown present,
On rebels prelates curses vent,

* Twysden, vol. i., p. 452.

† Post mortem vero dicti regis Aluredi Edwardus filius suus modo cognomento Senior regnum paternum capiens, A.D. 901, cepit regnare. Hic consecratus est apud Kyngiston ab Ethelredo. Twysden, vol. i., p. 831.

‡ Athelstanus vero in Cingestune, id est in regia villa, in regem levatur et honorifice ab Athelmo Dorubernensi archiepiscopo consecratur: Chron. Florent. Wigorn., Thorpe, vol. i., p. 130. Rogeri de Wendover, Coxe, vol. i. 385. Henrici Huntindon, in Savile, p. 354. Turner's "Anglo-Saxons," vol. ii., p. 176. Petrie's "Historians," p. 382.

The people light the festive fires
 And show by turns their kind desires,
 Their deeds their loyalty declare,
 Though hopes and fears their bosoms share,
 With festive treat the court abounds,
 Foam the brisk wines,—the hall resounds,
 The pages run, the servants haste
 And food and verse regale the taste,
 The minstrel sings, the guests commend,
 Whilst all in praise to Christ contend ;
 The King with pleasure all things sees
 And all his kind attentions please.*

Athelstan died at Gloucester, in the sixteenth year of his reign, on the 6th kalends of November [27th Oct.], A.D. 940.†

Athelstan was succeeded by his brother, Edmund the Elder, at the age of eighteen ; but his succession was disputed by the Northumbrians, who chose Anlaf. The date of his accession is given by the following authority as A.D. 940 : " Eadmundus Rex Anglorum consecratus est ab Odone Dorobernensi Archiepiscopo *apud Kingestune*" (Radulph de Diceto, Twysden, vol. i., p. 454). This statement of the coronation at Kingston, like the subsequent similar statement in reference to Edward the Martyr, rests solely upon the authority of Ralph de Diceto. The place of coronation is not mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, nor in the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, in William of Malmesbury, nor in the authorities in the general collections of Twysden and Gale. Still, it may very well be true. Ralph de Diceto, who flourished between 1160 and 1200, had no doubt the use of authorities which are unknown to us. The death of Edmund by the hand of Leofa is variously reported : according to some authorities it occurred 26th May, indict. 4, A.D. 946, to others in A.D. 948, but the place is uncertain (see note, William of Malmesbury, ed. Hardy, vol. i., p. 229).

Edred, who succeeded, was the third son of Edward the Elder,

* A remarkably interesting memorial of this ceremony still exists in the British Museum—the Coronation Book of the Kings of England, upon which, from the days of Athelstan, our Anglo-Saxon monarchs took the oath at their inauguration. An illuminated page is given by Mr. H. N. Humphreys, in his " MSS. of the Middle Ages," and the book is most fully described by Mr. Holmes in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1838, p. 469. " No one," says Mr. Holmes, " can doubt the antiquity assigned to it ; that it did belong to Athelstan, the grandson of Alfred the Great, and that it was presented by him to the church of Dover ; there is strong *prima facie* evidence that in the latter part of the fifteenth century it was in the possession of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward the Fourth, and that it was believed by her to have been used at the coronation of former kings there is good proof ; and to the fact that it was used at the coronation of Charles the First we have the positive testimony of a contemporary, the well-known antiquary Sir Simonds D'Ewes." This book was the property of Sir Robert Cotton, and it still forms part of his library. Mr. Sharon Turner conjectures that it was a present from Otho, Emperor of Germany, who married Athelstan's sister, and from Mathilda the Empress and mother of Otho.

† Florent. Wigorn., Thorpe, vol. i. 132. Petrie's " Historians," p. 386.

and was less than twenty-three years of age at his elevation to the throne. He was consecrated at *Kingston* by Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. August 16th, 946. This fact is attested by the charter before quoted from Kemble's "Codex Diplomaticus," vol. ii., p. 268, and the authorities cited below.* There is some discrepancy as to the date of the event. Simeon of Durham and Ethelweard place the death of Edmund and the succession of Eadred, A.D. 948. This should seem inaccurate. If we follow the date of the charter it would be placed A.D. 946—"Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis, post obitum Eadmundi regis, etc.—Eadred frater ejus electione optimatum subrogatus, etc., etc., rex in villa quæ dicitur regis Cyngestun, ubi et consecratio peracta est." This fixes the date of the year. The authorities cited give 17 kalend. Septembris [16th August] as the day of the month. That Eadred had been consecrated A.D. 947 is clear from another charter (Kemble, vol. ii., p. 274), where the text runs—"quamobrem ego Eadredus Rex Anglorum ceterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector," etc. The date of the month seems not fixed with equal accuracy. Eadred died at Frome on the 23rd November, A.D. 955, according to Florence of Worcester; A.D. 955, 956, Saxon Chronicle, and A.D. 957 according to the computation in Æthelweard's Chronicle (William of Malmesbury, ed. Hardy, vol. i., p. 232, note). Sir F. Palgrave's "Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth" gives the date thus—A.D. 955, Eadred died on St. Clement's Day; which Lingard follows.

Edwy or Edwin succeeded to the throne upon the death of his uncle at the age of sixteen—at least, it is so assumed, but his age is as uncertain as his name (Turner's "Anglo-Saxons," vol. ii., p. 232). That he was consecrated at *Kingston* by Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, there seems no doubt, as the authorities cited show,† with general agreement as to the date, A.D. 955, which is confirmatory of that of the death of Eadred. Two years later the Northumbrians chose Edgar for their king, and Edwy retained the south. He died on the 1st of October, A.D. 959.

Edgar, King of Mercia, his brother, succeeded, being about

* Mox proximus hæres Eadredus fratri succedens regnum naturale suscepit et 17 kal. Septembris [16 August] die Dominica in Cingestune a S. Odone Dorubernensi Archiepiscopo Rex est consecratus, A.D. 946.—Florent. Wigorn., Thorpe, i., p. 134; Palgrave's "Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth," vol. ii., p. 249; Roger de Wendover, Coxe, vol. i. 399; Radulphi de Diceto, Twysden, vol. i. 455; Ranulphi Higdensi Polychron., Gale, vol. ii., p. 264.

† A.D. 955. Regis autem corpus Wintoniam defertur, et ab ipso abbate Dunstano, in veteri monasterio sepulturæ honestissime traditur, cujus fratruus clito Eadwius regis scilicet Eadmundi et sanctæ Ælfgivæ reginæ filius monarchiam imperii suscepit et eodem anno in Cingestune ab Odone Doruberniæ Archiepiscopo rex consecratus est.—Chron. Florent. Wigorn., Thorpe, vol. i., p. 136; Rogeri de Wendover, Flores Hist., Coxe, vol. i., p. 404; Roger de Hoveden, Savile, p. 425; Radulf de Diceto, Twysden, vol. i. 455; Chron. Johannis Brompton, Twysden, vol. i., p. 862; Ranulph Higden, Gale, vol. ii., p. 265.

fourteen or sixteen years of age, and has obtained the surname of the Peaceful. He is one of the monarchs whose coronation has been claimed for Kingston. In considering the validity of that claim it may be desirable to place before the reader the following extract from Lingard's "History of England," vol. i., p. 269. "It will excite surprise," says Dr. Lingard, "that a prince of this character, living in an age which attached so much importance to the regal unction, should have permitted thirteen years of his reign to elapse before he was crowned; nor is it less extraordinary that of the many historians who relate the circumstance, *not one has thought proper to assign the reason.* The ceremony was at length performed at Bath with the usual solemnity, and in the presence of an immense number of spectators, May 11th, A.D. 973." All authorities concur in the fact that Edgar was crowned at Bath. There is not the slightest authority in any one of them (if we accept a doubtful statement in Polydore Vergil, which, in such a case, is no authority at all) to warrant the claim of Kingston.*

With reference to the delay of his coronation, it will have been seen that Dr. Lingard remarks, "of the many historians who relate the circumstance not one has thought proper to assign the reason." How far such direct testimony may be wanting is matter for inquiry. Mr. Coxe, in a note to his edition of Roger de Wendover, vol. i., p. 414, says, "The writers of the life of St. Dunstan tell us that Eadgar was not crowned until the *seventh*† year of his reign, because that until that time his penance for an offence upon the person of a nun was not complete." So that some notice of the cause appears to have been taken.

The cause in fact was a brutal indulgence of lust, a characteristic of his life, which not even the favour or charity of his monachal admirers can conceal. He violated a lady of noble birth, who had assumed the veil as an expected but insufficient protection. For this offence he was vehemently reprov'd by St. Dunstan, and underwent a seven years' penance, submitting, though a king, to fast and to forego the wearing of his crown for that period. (Sharpe, William of Malmesbury, p. 186; Hardy, vol. i., p. 254.) Edgar died on Thursday, 8th July, A.D. 975.

* A.D. 973. Rex Anglorum pacificus Eadgarus, sæ etatis anno xxx, indictione prima, quinto idus Maii [11 Maii] die Pentecostes a beatis præsulibus Dunstano et Oswaldo, et a ceteris totius Angliæ antistitibus in civitate Acamanni benedicitur, et cum maximo honore et gloria consecratur et in regem ungitur.—Chron. Floren.; Wigorn., Thorpe, vol. i., p. 142; Roger de Wendover, Coxe, vol. i., p. 414; Chronica de Mailros, Gale, i., p. 150; Ranulph Higden, Gale, vol. ii. 264; William of Malmesbury, Hardy, vol. i., p. 255; Henrici Huntindon Chron., Savile, 356; Simeon Dunelm., Twysden, vol. i. 162.

† Is not this the *seventh* year of his penance, since thirteen years after his accession is the general date assigned to his coronation? See note by Mr. Hardy, Will. of Malm. i. 248, and Sharpe, p. 186.

Edward the Martyr succeeded, according to general testimony, in the same year. Radulf de Diceto appears to be the authority for the fact of his being *crowned at Kingston*, which has much of probability in its favour. He gives the date A.D. 977.* Edward was murdered at Corfe Castle, March 18, A.D. 978. His remains were burnt, and his ashes buried at Wareham.

Ethelred succeeded, and was *crowned at Kingston* on the Sunday next after Easter, 14th April, A.D. 978. The following is the oath administered to the King by Archbishop Dunstan on that occasion: "In the name of the most holy Trinity I promise, first, that the Church of God and all Christian people shall enjoy true peace under my government; secondly, that I will prohibit all manner of rapine and injustice to men of every condition; thirdly, that in all judgments I will cause equity to be united with mercy, that the most clement God may, through His eternal mercy, forgive us all. Amen." As all authorities agree generally in this statement, it will be only necessary to refer to those upon whom it is founded. Ethelred was crowned by Archbishops Dunstan and Oswald;† there is some discrepancy as to the year. He died at London, on Monday, 23rd April, St. George's Day, A.D. 1016 (William of Malmesbury, ed. Hardy, vol. i., p. 300), and was buried in the Cathedral of St. Paul.

He was succeeded by Edmund Ironside, who was immediately proclaimed king by the citizens of London, and crowned at St. Paul's, and at the same time Canute was acknowledged by the thanes of Wessex at Southampton. All authorities appear to concur in this. The claim of Kingston has no support whatever. The Saxon Chronicle, Roger de Wendover, and Florence of Worcester, are silent as to the place; but Brompton (Twysden, vol. i., p. 903) and Ralph de Diceto assert the fact of Edmund Ironside's coronation at London, by Lyfing, Archbishop of Canterbury. Edmund was murdered A.D. 1016.

With him closes the series of Anglo-Saxon kings, claimed as having been crowned at Kingston. The reader has now before him the authority on which the claim of each of them rests, and can judge how far it is valid or the contrary. For my own part I feel inclined to allow that there is sufficient evidence to raise a high degree of probability in favour of—

Edward the Elder, A.D. 902
Athelstan, A.D. 925

* "Edwardus regis Edgari filius, consecratus est à Dunstano Dorobernensi et Oswaldo Eboracensi Archiepiscopis, apud Kingestune."—Chron. Twysden, vol. i., p. 458. This possibly coincides with Osborn, "Vita Dunstani," and Florence of Worcester.

† Roger de Wendover, Coxe, vol. i., p. 421; Florent. Wigorn. Chron., Thorpe, vol. i., p. 146; Hist. Ingulphi, Gale, vol. i., p. 54; Chronica de Mailros, Gale, vol. i., p. 151; Twysden, vol. i., pp. 160, 460, 877; Petrie's "Anglo-Saxon Chron.," p. 398.

Edmund the Elder, A.D. 940
 Edred, A.D. 946
 Edwy or Edwin, A.D. 955
 Edward the Martyr, A.D. 977; and
 Ethelred, A.D. 978.

Within three quarters of a century the little town of Kingston was seven times made the scene of one of the most solemn of earthly ceremonies. It would be curious to discover what tie of property or local attachment induced the immediate descendants of Alfred to fix upon this particular spot in preference to Winchester, the acknowledged capital of their paternal kingdom. This is an inquiry which we have probably now no means of answering; but whatever may have been the cause, the result must for ever make Kingston venerable in the eyes of those who feel an interest in the transactions of far distant ages, and love to recognise in places otherwise, perhaps, of little interest or attractiveness spots consecrated by deeds of valour or generosity, by the triumphs of law or the solemnities of freedom.

The stone commonly called the consecration-stone, which has been lately inaugurated at Kingston, is supported by tradition, and by the analogy of the employment of stones for such purposes, both in the instance of the coronation seat of our sovereigns to the present day, and possibly also in the instance of the Pope's chair.

In Manning and Bray's "History of Surrey," vol. i., p. 370, there is an engraving of the Chapel of St. Mary adjoining the south side of the parochial church of Kingston, in which "were formerly to be seen the portraits of divers of the Saxon kings that have been crowned here, and also that of King John, of whom the town received its first charter." This chapel fell down on the 2nd March, A.D. 1729-30, and with it perished these interesting works of monumental art. It is much to be regretted that no society exists with funds sufficient to obtain accurate copies of such of these ancient mural paintings as time and churchwardens have yet spared, important as they are historically, as symbols of religious faith, and as materials for the history of British art. S. H.

Offa's Dyke, near St. Briavel's, co. Gloucester.

[1831, *Part II.*, pp. 582-584.]

Offa's Dyke is known to have commenced at Tiddenham in Gloucestershire, near Chepstow; but its line from thence to Old Radnor is unknown, or undetermined. St. Briavel's in Gloucestershire is only a very few miles from Tiddenham, and I was greatly surprised, when on a visit there for change of air, I was asked whether I had seen the remains of Offa's Dyke in that parish. Upon my reply in the negative, I was informed that it ran through a wood

called the Fence near Bigsweir Bridge. I was most anxious to visit the spot. The gout having, however, placed me in Schedule A, by disfranchising my locomotive members, and the brushwood rendering it impracticable to ride to it, I was obliged to forego the pleasure. But Charles Ransford Court, Esq., of St. Briavel's, assured me that he had often crossed it, when shooting. The Dyke overhangs the Wye, and the Fence Wood forms one (the northern) horn of the crescent, in the centre of which stands the Castle of St. Briavel.

Hence arise two questions: (1) Did it cross the Wye to reach Monmouthshire or Herefordshire? or (2) did it take a circuitous route along the Gloucestershire side of the river? Nicholson* says, "When the Romans made their inroads into this island, about the commencement of the Christian era, many of the Britons were said to have retreated into Wales, at which time the River Dee, in the neighbourhood of Chester, and the Severn divided the two countries. All to the east was England, and to the west Wales. This division continued about 600 years, when the ambitious Offa, coveting the fertile lands of his neighbours, easily raised a quarrel and an army. He then drove them west among the mountains, formed this vast Dyke, and ordained that neither English nor Welsh should pass it."

I shall not attempt to decide which way it went, because such an attempt as exploration of the track, which would alone be satisfactory, is by me impracticable.

Nevertheless, without committing myself, for the reasons just given, it may be hypothetically and yet fairly stated, that it did *not* cross the river until it arrived at Monmouth, but followed the Gloucestershire bank of the Wye, as far as that town. In favour of this hypothesis it may be observed, that two-thirds of the Dyke from Mold in Flintshire to Old Radnor (nearly eighty miles by the scale on the map), have been clearly ascertained. From Mold to Llangollen it is a gentle curve, and from thence to Old Radnor nearly as straight as a Roman road. If we assume that the remaining third assimilated in form and direction the two others, it would proceed from Old Radnor to Clifford, thence to Llanthony, Crickhowell, Abergavenny, and Pontypool, and have entered the mouth of the Severn somewhere between Caerphilly and Newport; but, had it done so, it would have been twenty miles to the westward of either the Old or New Passages. Not to lose this connection appears to have been the object of commencing the Dyke at Tiddenham, and of deviating from the preceding line. The direct line from Radnor to Tiddenham is through Trelech, Grosmount, and Bradwardine, in which direction it must have crossed the river twice. But as the remains of St. Briavel's show the line of continuation, it must have followed the river down to Monmouth, and perhaps have crossed the Wye at that place; for the deviation from the direct line between

* "Cambrian Traveller's Guide," p. 910.

Tiddenham and Monmouth along the river is very trifling, and from thence by Grosmont and Bradwardine to Old Radnor, according to the map, the line is straight.

Another circumstance is observable. Where the course of the Dyke is known, there are old Roman or British camps in contiguity, or in the vicinity, besides mounts or small forts upon the line itself. Offa seemingly imitated the valla of Hadrian or Severus; the mounts being substituted for towers, and the camps used for garrisons or reserves. A similar coincidence occurs in the line now under discussion. There is a camp in Caswell Wood, not far from St. Briavel's, and the "Devil's Pulpit" (a rock visited by tourists, on account of the fine bird's-eye view of Tintern Abbey beneath it, on the Monmouthshire side of the river) is within the entrenchment. There is a line or mound from this camp, which can be traced nearly to a tumulus on the west side of the road, and situated near the mansion occupied by Mr. Trotter. This line appears to have communicated with St. Briavel's. This information I received from a very intelligent gentleman engaged in the Ordnance Survey; and I have visited the Devil's Pulpit, passed Mr. Trotter's gate up a straight Roman-road-looking wide lane, and observed every indication of the accuracy of the account. The part of St. Briavel's under discussion is a lofty elevation, of a \cap form, part of which the Greeks would have scooped out for a theatre. The straight side of the \cap is the river towards the west; the adjacent lower area resembles the pit; and the ascending semicircular sides the boxes and galleries. In the centre of what we should call in a playhouse the upper gallery is the castle. But the piece of Offa's Dyke lies in the Fence Wood, and has no communication with the castle, but runs across the extremity of the northern end of the semicircle. I have heard that there are still remains of a very ancient lane from Bigsweir, which pointed towards Monmouth.

From the castle and village an old road passes by a camp called Stow-green, towards Clearwell, a hamlet of Newland. This parish is adjacent to Staunton and Bury-hill, where, from inclusion in Bletislan hundred, the Rocking-stone, and a Roman way, and other indicia, not found at Monmouth, was to all appearance the Blestrum of Antoninus. About three miles farther, on the same Gloucestershire side of the river, is a Roman encampment at Symond's Yat, and, somewhat diverging to the east, the Roman camp on Ross Chase, and Ariconium. On the known line of the Dyke, commencing in Herefordshire, at or near Lentwardine, are the two famous camps of Coxsall Hill and Brampton Brian—one of Caractacus, the other of Ostorius; and so fortresses continue to skirt it along the whole of its course. It is not, however, impossible but that, instead of crossing the Wye at or about Monmouth, it actually accompanied the circuit of the Wye by Ross and Hereford to Bradwardine; for the visible

course of the Dyke runs in a straight line, and ceases to be discoverable at Old Radnor, which, according to the scale, is only as one to miles, in a straight line north to south, the uniform direction of the Dyke from Bradwardine. Nicholson says, "Knighton," also called "Tref-y-clawd," i.e., *the town upon the Dyke*; for Offa's Dyke enters this parish on the north from the county of Salop, and after running for two miles in almost a straight line to the south, it is plainly to be traced through the parishes of Norton, Whitton, Discoed, and Old Radnor, into the county of Hereford, i.e., to Lentwardine, which is situated at the end of the ninth mile on the road from Ludlow to Knighton. It is also to be observed that the Dyke running in a straight line north to south bisects Wales longitudinally, though not in equal proportions. It may, therefore, be assumed that it continued to proceed in the same straight line north and south from Old Radnor to Tiddenham. That straight line has been before noted, as going by Bradwardine, Crickhowel, Abergavenny, Pontypool, and Newport, which direction does not bring it to Tiddenham, as, if the map be correct, according to the straight line from north to south it ought to do. As no further remains have been discoverable beyond Old Radnor, it *might*, therefore (I do not say that it did), have accompanied the river from Tiddenham to Bradwardine, and thus made boundaries of both the Wye and the Severn; for otherwise the Wye could have been a boundary only for a comparatively few miles, as will be plain from the positions of the places upon a map, both in straight line and round the river.

It might not be difficult for a sturdy pedestrian to start from Old Radnor in a north and south direction, by the places mentioned, and so try the straight line for remains, duly observing the bearings of aberrations (if any) from the straight line, and following such deviations to their extremity. If nothing be discovered, and there will be nothing in such a direction, as the Dyke passes through St. Briavel's, let him make a second attempt by going from Monmouth by Gros-mont, and from thence to Bradwardine in a north-west or north-north-west direction. If both these fail, it is possible, though not certain, that the Dyke accompanied the river as far as Bradwardine.

I have made these hypotheses from the map, because there being no other remains known than those specified, the map was my only resource. Having only a wish, as an antiquary, to have the real line discovered, I heed not the tenability of any of the hypotheses. I only in my own defence say that, if the line does not go in one or other of the above directions, the map is either inaccurate or the line from Old Radnor to Tiddenham is anomalous to the straight north and south direction of the known parts. By the Dyke going from Tiddenham to St. Briavel's and probably to Monmouth, Gros-mont, and Bradwardine, there *is* an aberration to the east, but it is

the shortest line of any, according to the map, and on that account may be the exploratory direction most likely to succeed.

T. D. FOSBROKE.

[1832, *Part II.*, pp. 500-503.]

Some time ago I communicated to you certain observations concerning the line of Offa's Dyke, between Tiddenham or Beachley Passage, near Chepstow, and its remaining progress until it reaches Old Radnor, on the other side of the Wye, whence its line to the Dee is satisfactorily ascertained. A piece of it has been always traditionally understood to be extant at St. Briavel's, and there I accordingly commenced my research.

The line of the Dyke from its commencement to its termination is stated, according to the compass directions in Nicholson's map, to have proceeded from south to north, through Knighton, Montgomery, Pool (thence crossing the Severn), by Llangollen and Mold, to Holywell; that is to say, to their vicinities. Of course the only desideratum is, its progress from Tiddenham, County Gloucester, to Old Radnor, and to part of this desideratum my explorations apply.

I began, according to local directions, at a part of the *new* road which leads from St. Briavel's to Monmouth, because such new road bisects the Dyke between a coppice wood called Margaret's Grove on the south-east, and Littlewood, another cover, part of a long one skirting the Wye, north-west, on the opposite side.

I made my first investigation in a south-east direction. On that side, the causeway of the Dyke, partly levelled by art, at the outset forms the boundary between Margaret's Grove, above mentioned, and a piece of arable land on the western (or Welsh side), called *Cumbers* (*gy. Cambers?*) land. One half of it lengthways was, I was told, levelled about forty years ago, and the earth scattered about the field. Within the wood, it appears (as described by Mr. Gough, in North Wales) an elevated causeway, in places from 10 to 12 feet high, and 30 or 40 feet broad. I followed his portion to its termination in a bog, but could not discover any further traces. Taking, however, the strait line south-east (the direction of Tiddenham), it apparently went from Margaret's Grove across Drypiece, and fields belonging to Lyndhurst Farm, to a place in St. Briavel's called *Cold Harbour*, a denomination of most remote ancientry, and indicative of archæological locality. Thither I proceeded, and found it a bleak place, which I could only *infer* might have been a British settlement, but without barrows or any other *indicia* (which, as the spot was inclosed common, may be nothing) than roads running in all directions. I followed that which went south-east, and saw about two miles off, in a straight line, a farmhouse called *Maget*, pronounced *Majet*. Here there is a Roman camp, and from thence to the passage where the Dyke begins may be, as I was told, five or six miles.

My second exploration was in the opposite direction, viz., the north-east, through Littlewood or the Fence. I there found it in high perfection, an elevated ridge or causeway, with a ditch on each side. The coppice wood was so thick, and the probable aspect that which might bring me through the whole skirt of cover that leads to Redbrook in Newland, four or five miles off; so that, afraid of blows on my eyes from the boughs, and the fatigue of jumping over some of them and pushing others aside, I was obliged, through gouty feebleness, to relinquish my chase in about a quarter of a mile. If I had had my horse brought down to the road whence I started, I would have gone to the woodward of George Rooke, Esq., who owns the estate, and acquired such information as I could have gained from him relative to its further progress; but I was so knocked up as to be barely able to regain the village.

At my son's (the curate of St. Briavel's) I found a work in four volumes, 4to., entitled "Lewis's Topographical Dictionary." It is there said, under the article "Colford," that "vestiges of King Offa's Dyke may be distinctly traced in some parts of the town." But, according to the maps, Colford lies too far eastward. I applied the compass upon first mounting the Dyke, and found its line to be north-north-west, and upon further advance north-west. According to Sir Robert Atkins's map, its progress is directly north, as it is in that of Nicholson, upon the other side of the Wye.

There is no trace of its known Welsh accompaniment, Watt's Dyke, the ground beneath being neutral; but it is skirted at unequal distances by the old road from St. Briavel's to Monmouth, now stopped up. Both the dyke and road are elevated beyond inundation from the Wye.

The chroniclers who mention Offa's Dyke describe it as merely a boundary between the dominion of the Welsh and the kingdom of Mercia; but either there was *another Offa's Dyke*, or this before us had the following origin. Matthew Paris has written the "Life of Offa," and he says that Offa had defeated the three kings of the Northumbrian, Southern, and Western Saxons at Benson so severely, that they and their remaining men were obliged to take refuge in a "certain municipium" (presumably Wallingford). There Offa blockaded them, with the intention of starving them into surrender; but it appears that he did not relieve his guards, for on the third night following (a very dark one) the wearied besiegers went to rest, and the prisoners escaped. They did not stop until they had reached the confines of Wales. Soliciting the aid of Marmodius, king of that country, they persuaded him to think that Offa, like Polyphemus, only intended to eat him last, and he received the fugitives because he thought that their troops augmented his own forces. Offa sent messengers to demand his prisoners, but they represented to Marmodius that he (Offa) was "only a wolf in sheep's clothing." A

supercilious answer was accordingly returned. Offa thereupon seized and garrisoned all the forts and towns of the fugitives. Soon afterwards a day and place were appointed for a pitched battle between them. Night put an end to it without victory on either side. The time was the end of Advent, just before Christmas; and Marmodius, deceiving Offa with flattery and appeals to his religious feelings, solicited an armistice. Offa, wishing his horses and servants to be re-freshed, and his wounded to be cured, assented. But neither army being willing to separate far from each other, Offa, with the assent of both armies, drew between them a long and deep ditch, with a very high rampart towards the Welsh, lest he should be anticipated by sudden irruptions of his deceitful enemies; and that he might perform the offices due to the Christmas solemnity, he built on the spot "a small church," both which *dyke* and *church* occupied the time of only twelve days. To perpetuate the memory of this event, says Matthew Paris, "*fossa illa Offa dicitur, et ecclesia Offekirk usque in hodiernum diem appellatur;*" *i.e.*, "that ditch is called *Offa's*, and the church *Offekirk*, to this very day."* Now the only *Offchurch* known at present lies in Warwickshire, and at a palace there of Offa's, Fremund his son was born.† It will soon be seen that the *Dyke* and *Offekirk* alluded to by Matthew Paris lay in the confines of Wales. But to proceed.

Marmodius took advantage of the armistice, and collected all the forces possible. On Christmas Day Offa's army indulged in the festivities of the season, and became careless and incautious. On the following night (St. Stephen's Day, Dec. 26), a dark one, Marmodius and his allies, by the aid of the neighbouring rustics, silently filled up the ditch, and levelled the rampart to the length of a bow-shot. At break of day they rushed on at this breach, and taking Offa by surprise, completely routed his army. Bad weather and a heavy snow following, and the country being marshy, the Welsh did not pursue, and Offa returned to his own country. He did not suffer them to get head by long delays, but again led a very strong army, equipped fully, and abundantly provisioned, *into the confines of Wales*, and there cooped up his enemies in a defile (in arcto), and they, thinking the place where they had triumphantly passed the Dyke would be fortunate, fought a great battle, and by retreating to their lurking places and frequent desultory attacks often repulsed him. Offa, at length enraged, headed his troops, formed them into a wedge, as Matthew Paris calls "*cornu militare in modum pyramidis,*" and completely defeated them. The result which followed was the massacre of all the Welsh males, not sparing infants. On the morrow of this victory (which was gained in the year 675), Offa ordered the bodies of the noble and higher ranks to be honourably buried, and those of them and the common people which were so mutilated that they

* M. Paris, 974. 975.

† Gough.

could not be distinguished to be interred in that very breach of the dyke which they had made, and the rampart to be again thrown up, to prevent desecration by wild beasts, and contagion of the atmosphere. This is all that Matthew says of an *Offa's Dyke*, and adds, that he was the first of our kings who made his progresses preceded by trumpeters, to show his power and excite fear.* That Matthew's Offa's Dyke, "a mere boundary between two armies," could not be the lengthy one now known, is plain; yet it appears from other authors that they assume the present dyke to have been the one through which Marmodius and his allies made the breach, and that the last grand battle was fought near Rhyddlan Marsn, † in Denbighshire, the bathing-place of Abergeley standing upon the edge of it. But if Offa discontinued his dyke near Treuoldyn, in Flintshire, Rhyddlan lies, according to the map, ten miles to the westward.

T. D. FOSBROKE.

[1833. *Part I.*, pp. 504, 505.]

Some remarks on the course of Offa's Dyke, by the Rev. T. D. Fosbroke, F.S.A., having been inserted in this magazine, vol. ci. ii. 582, vol. cii. ii. 500, we think it desirable to transfer to our pages, from the 18th number of the Cambrian Quarterly Magazine, some observations on the presumed direction of the same ancient earthwork through the county of Hereford, by Sir Samuel R. Meyrick, K.H., F.S.A.

From Knighton in the county of Radnor, called by the Welsh *Trev y clawdd*, or the town on the Dyke, the line of Offa's stupendous work has been traced in a very satisfactory manner; but from that point southward there are only occasional indications. Strutt (*Chronicle of England*) assigns the whole county of Hereford to the kingdom of Mercia; but the existence of the Dyke, with its proper name, between Upperton and Bridge Solers, on the Wye, shows that this cannot be true of much more than one half.

It strikes me that those who have endeavoured to trace the bearing of this singular remain of antiquity, have undertaken the matter with the same predilections as would have guided them in the investigation of a Roman road, forgetting that the Romans, making their lines of communications, did so through a conquered country, and therefore would vary as little as possible from the straight direction. Offa, on the contrary, wished to mark the boundary of his kingdom, which extending much further west in some places than in others, he could not avoid giving to his work an irregular appearance. Now, I think we have a most rational guide in the celebrated Denbighshire antiquary, Humphrey Llwyd. ‡ He gives us a clue that it is worth while to put to the test, when he tells us that almost all the places

* P. 987.

† Nicholson's "*Cambrian Traveller*," p. 455.

‡ *Comment. Brit. Descrip.* 42.

on the Mercian side of the Dyke "in *ton vel ham* finientia habent." After taking those spots where this earthwork is known, as fixed points, should it be possible to draw a line from one to the other, so that on one side there be Welsh names for places, while on the other they are invariably English, I think the fair inference must be that the original direction is pretty nearly, if not exactly, ascertained.

The most northern point in Herefordshire where Offa's Dyke is known, is in the parish of Leintwardine, a name of Cambrian origin. This is distant from Knighton about eight miles, almost due east; the Dyke therefore must have run parallel with the Wye, or that river served as the boundary of Mercia instead. The next certain point is Grimsditch, rather more than a dozen miles nearly due south from Leintwardine. The corrupted Welsh name of Pembridge (probably once Penybont) shows where the track must have crossed the river Arrow. From Leintwardine, therefore, to Pembridge, the first place would be Walford, or the ford of the Vallum, and thence, parallel with the stream, having on the Welsh side Upper and Lower Pedwardine, and on the Mercian, Letton: thence to Creekmelyn, a mound on which might have stood one of the watch-towers, and so on through Shobden Park to Pembridge, which is exactly due south of Leintwardine.

Grimsditch is about two miles south-south-west of Pembridge. From this direction it went south-south-east to Upperton, four miles, as from this point it is seen in great perfection crossing Mansel Gamage to Bridge Solers for a similar distance. The Wye itself next, in all probability, afforded the boundary for a mile and a quarter, making a slight curve, but still keeping the same direction, and just beyond we meet again with an indication of it under the name of Tond-ditch. Hence it probably took a west-south-west course towards Gorty Common, and so on to Walbrook, between Aconbury and Dewchurch (*Eglwys Dduw*), and by Hentlas to Altbach, opposite Aramstone, where it again met the Wye. Here the river acted perhaps instead of the Dyke, flowing for about a mile in a south-south-west direction towards Llanfrothen, or it may have crossed the river by Aramstone to Penalt, and thence by Pennaxton to Hentland, corrupted from Henllan. From this the direction was towards the river Luke, having on the Welsh side Pengethley and Dafarluke, and on the Mercian, Sellach, Peterstow, and Wilson. Continuing the line of the Luke, it would nearly meet the Wye again at Pencreek, or rather Penrûg. Here I conceive it entered my grounds, and went along what in my oldest title-deeds is called "The Lord's Way," that is, the road used by the owners of Goodrich Castle to Pencreek. This road, before I gave a more commodious one in exchange, led from Pencreek, or as it is now called Pencraig, to the village of the Croose, which has been so named from having been formed about Y Crwys, the Cross-house, still having the remains of the shaft on

its roof, where the four gables meet. If this road, which in some parts has more the appearance of a dyke, divided Mercia and Wales, it is not to be wondered at that the farm close on its western side is still called Bryngwyn. Taking a direction from hence almost south, either along the road to Huntsholm ferry-house, and allowing the river to be the boundary, to opposite Symond's Yat, or running along Coppet-hill to that point, it here crossed the stream, and having left the county of Hereford, entered through this pass in the rock that of Gloucester. From Symond's Yat, or Gate, the line is nearly due south to Coleford, St. Briavel's and Tiddenham (see Mr. Fosbroke's Letters), at all which places Offa's Dyke is known, and just beyond the latter place it fell into the Bristol Channel, near the mouth of the Wye.

[1835, *Part I.*, pp. 490, 491.]

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1833 (vol. cii., p. 501), I offered a communication concerning a topographical desideratum, viz., the progress of Offa's Dyke upon this, the Gloucestershire side of the Wye, which progress, tradition says, commences at the Old Passage near Chepstow, and from the occurrence of pieces of earthworks has been deemed to proceed to Coleford, in the Forest of Dean.

Tradition is not to be despised, because, though it has not the character of evidence, it has that of suspicion, which is often a jackal to a lion. In the instance alluded to, as in many others, research only leads to the inference that the tradition concerning this Gloucestershire progress of Offa's Dyke, is similar in authority to a ghost story—an ocular spectrum derived from earthworks (apparently Roman) and a wrong appropriation of history, relative to Offa's Dyke.

A gentleman* and neighbour of consideration, as well as of no small penetration and intellect, as well as skill in archæology, has written to me a letter, of which the following is an extract :

"It is true that Offa's name is given to the Roman lines, the Danish camp, and the British works accompanying Leman's Akeman-street through my Sedbury estate, which fill up all assailable intervals of precipices from the termination of your investigation at Caerswall to my cliffs on Severn ; but if Offa had anything to do with refortifying these, I think it must have been for a *military defence* of the termination of his line, and that the Wye was the *conventional demarcation of countries*. It is difficult to suppose that he would have suffered the continuance of a Welsh ground *between* the Wye and his defences on the cliffs."

It is familiar that the Severn formed the most ancient division between England and Wales. The Monmouth and Herefordshire

* George Ormerod, Esq., of Sedbury Park, near Chepstow.

banks of the Wye are, in the ancient records, both in Wales; but in the Anglo-Saxon era, the Wye, beyond Hereford, was made by Athelstan the boundary between England and *North Wales*; while, with regard to *South Wales*, Higden says: "Flumen Vaga apud castrum Strigulense in austro Walliam ab Anglia secuit. Insuper et Rex Offa, ad perpetuam Regnorum Angliæ et Walliæ distinctionem habendam, fecit fossam perlongam, quæ ab austro juxta Bristolliam sub montibus Walliæ jugiter se extendit in boream, fluminaque Sabrinæ et Deæ in eorum pene primordiis transcindit, etc., usque ad ostium fluminis Deæ ultra Cestriam, juxta castrum de Flint, inter collem Carbonum et monasterium de Basingwerk se protendit."*

Asser Menevensis† speaks thus: "Fuit in Mercia moderno tempore . . . Rex nomine Offa, qui vallum magnum inter Britanniam et Merciam, et mari usque ad mare facere imperavit."

It is to be recollected, before making any deductions from these premises, that the question is not whether there existed an Offa's Dyke or not, but whether it followed the banks of the Wye, as pretended. According to these authors, it did not, and therefore the earthwork on the Gloucestershire side, so denominated, is mis-nomered.

First. It appears that the Wye, from its mouth at Chepstow, was the boundary between England and Wales, both south and north, and that Offa's Dyke does not conform to any such lines, because it runs too far to the east.

Secondly. The Saxon Chronicle shows that Offa commenced his reign in the year 755, and died in 794. Asser Menevensis died in 909. He says that the Dyke was made "*moderno tempore*," and there being only a century between Offa and himself, he could have had no more difficulty in ascertaining its era than a person now living would have in regard to the age of the Monument or St. Paul's.

Thirdly. Asser says that the foundation of the Dyke had a specific object, viz., separation of Wales from *Mercia*, which object the course of the Wye could not effect, because it turns short off to the westward at Hereford, and would have thrown all the eastern country from that place to Chester out of the kingdom of Mercia.

Fourthly. Asser says that the Dyke ran from sea to sea, *i.e.*, according to Higden, from the mouth of the Severn to that of the Dee, or from the Bristol to the Irish Channel. The latter also says that, commencing on the south, it proceeded under the Welsh mountains to the north. Now the line, from the Dee to Old Radnor, is distinctly visible; and, as the undulation on that line is very trifling, it will appear, by applying a ruler to the map from Old Radnor to the Bristol Channel, that the lost portion went from Old Radnor by Abergavenny, and thence between Usk and Pontypool, terminating at

* XV. Scriptores, 194.

† *Ibid.*, 157.

the sea between Newport and Landaff. According to Higden's account, and the maps also, Newport and Caldecot-hill, on the Monmouthshire shores, face the mouth of the Avon, the "*juxta Bristoliam*" of the Chronicler; and the "*sub montibus*," going northward, indicate the Monmouth and Brecon hills, by Abergavenny, etc.

As to the *pretended* Offa's Dyke, it consists seemingly of communications between the Roman camps, etc., thrown up to check the Silures. The trajectus at Aust is, undoubtedly, of Roman antiquity; and there is a considerable camp at Maget, not far from the commencement of the *pretended* Offa's Dyke at Beachley, *alias* the Old Passage; and there were stations at Lydney (Abone), Stanton (Blestium), Bollatree (Ariconium), besides castella or other works at Symonds'-yat, Bury-hill, the Devil's Pulpit, Stow-green, etc. These works must have guarded the trajectus in a most powerful force, and almost invincibly have protected the passage of the Severn through the numerous garrisons which could have been collected against an enemy within a very few hours. [See Note 24.]

Yours, etc. T. D. FOSBROKE.

The Devil's Dyke, Newmarket.

[1845, *Part I.*, pp. 25-29.]

"Nec struere audent aciem nec credere campo,
Castra modo et tutos servarent aggere muros."

Æneid, Lib. ix., lin. 42.

In the month of August, 1842, I had the opportunity of making some notes, founded on personal inspection, of the structure of that very remarkable ancient military earthwork on Newmarket Heath, in Cambridgeshire, popularly called the Devil's Dyke. As I am not aware that any particular survey of this strong and very extensive line of defence has been made, the report of my examination of it may not be unacceptable.

I surveyed it at a spot called "The Links," where it remains very bold and perfect, about a quarter of a mile south of the turnpike-gate, which stands where it is crossed by the high road from Newmarket to London and Cambridge. I obtained in a rough way the following admeasurements, which cannot, however, greatly err from the truth.

This formidable vallum or rampart was commenced probably at its southern extremity, where the Ordnance map of Cambridgeshire marks the site of an ancient entrenched camp at Wood Ditton; there are also some tumuli northward of that place in front of the dyke, called traditionally "The Two Captains." Wood Ditton is evidently a name associated with the Dyke, implying, the wood on the ditch. The work is continued northward, across Newmarket

Heath, in a straight course of eight miles, to a stream near the village of Reach, whose appellation, from the Saxon, *ræcan*, indicates the point to which the dyke *reached* or extended (see the Plan), so that its right flank rested on streams and marsh lands, and its left on a forest tract. The vallum being thrown up on the eastern side, shows that the entrenchment was intended to secure the plain of Newmarket against an enemy approaching from the westward, by a barrier impregnable if properly defended. Such, indeed, it must have been, for the escarpment of the rampart from the bottom of the ditch in the most perfect places measures not less than 90 feet, and is inclined at an angle of 70 degrees. On the top of the rampart is a *cursus* or way, 18 feet in breadth, sufficiently wide for the passage of cavalry or chariots. I have been told that some years since fragments of the bronze furniture of chariot wheels were dug up near the line of dyke, but I cannot verify the information. On the top of the rampart I thought I could distinguish faint traces of a parapet of turf. The whole was probably strengthened by a line of palisades or stakes. It will be readily imagined how strong a defence this steep and bristled wall of earth must then have formed. Even now, to ascend its outward base from the bottom of the ditch is a feat of no small difficulty and labour. The excavation for the work was made in the solid stratum of chalk which lies on Newmarket plain next under the vegetable mould; the rampart was doubtless faced with green sods, and nature has continued the surface of sward to this day.

About seven miles to the westward, crossing the high road, and running nearly in a parallel line, is another ditch and rampart called "The Fleam Dyke," which may be rendered, from the Saxon, the dyke of flight or refuge (*Fleam*), as it probably was for the inhabitants of East Anglia, being an obstacle against the assaults of the Mercians. I have not yet had the opportunity of comparing the construction of the Fleam Dyke with that of the Devil's Dyke; it varies very little in extent from the latter; it is called also, from the length of its course, the "Seven-Mile Dyke." On the inner or eastern side of this work, near the high road, is a considerable tumulus, called in the maps "Matlow Hill."

I am strongly disposed to think that the Devil's Dyke, and, perhaps, other lines of entrenchment of a similar character in the neighbourhood, were constructed by the Roman legions at an early period in Britain. Camden enumerates three military dykes in Cambridgeshire besides the Devil's Dyke, the strongest of them all. The Roman forces, after obtaining their first footing in Britain, occupied and colonized some eligible positions in Kent, Middlesex, and Essex; we find them at the time of the revolt of Boadicea at Camalodunum (Colchester), Verulamium (St. Albans), and Londinium (London). The Trinovantes and Iceni were perhaps the first British districts which received the Roman yoke.

It may here be remarked, that the covering a line of country by a long extended vallum and ditch was a tactical practice with the Romans. A few remarkable instances of securing a district in this way against the incursions of a numerous and savage population may here be quoted.

1. That line of entrenchment to check the devastation of the provinces of Gaul by the Helvetii which Cæsar threw up, nineteen miles in length, extending from Lake Lemano to Mount Jura. "Interea eâ legione quam secum habebat, militibusque, qui ex provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemano, quem flumen Rhodanum influit ad montem Juram qui fines Sequanorum ab Helvetiis dividit, millia passuum decem et novem murum in altitudinem pedum sexdecim fossamque perducit."*

2. That wall and rampart constructed by Lollius Urbicus, Governor of Britain, in the time of Antoninus Pius, between the firths of Forth and Clyde, extending from old Kirkpatrick, on the Clyde, to the borders of the Forth, a distance of thirty miles; a position previously defended by a chain of forts designed by that great Roman strategist, Agricola. This is the Grimma's (corruptly Graham's) or Wizard's Dyke of after-ages, which thus assign its construction to diabolical agency. The same superstitious belief attaches to many Roman works, and designates them as "Devil's" banks, ways, and dykes; and this is one circumstance in favour of a Roman origin for the Devil's Dyke at Newmarket.

3. The wall of Severus, in juxtaposition with the earlier work of Hadrian, so well known as the Picts' Wall, extending from Wallsend, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to Bowness, in Cumberland; a course of eighty miles.†

Wansdyke, in Wiltshire, has in all probability a Roman origin: the name is from the British word *Gwahan*, denoting a separation.‡ Watt's Dyke, on the borders of Wales, was also of Roman construction, and is accompanied in places by Roman forts. *Gwaith*, from which the name is corrupted, in an extended sense, according to Richards, means a battle. The "ditch of battle" would be very significant for such a work.§ This was the prototype of Offa's Dyke, *Clawdd Offa*, and, indeed, in some places, is seen running parallel

* "Comment. de Bello Gallico," lib. i., cap. viii.

† See the Rev. John Hodgson's Account of the Picts' Wall, "Hist. Northumberland;" and that from an actual survey by the late Wm. Hutton, F.S.A., noticed in *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1802, p. 633.

‡ It has been noticed in one of the reviews of topographical works which I have from time to time contributed to these pages, that there are numerous dykes running parallel with Wansdyke all ditched on the north-eastern side, that is, against the interior extent of the country, showing that they marked the gradual onward acquisitions of foreign invaders.

§ See Richard's "Thesaurus," in voce *Gwaith*, who quotes Taliessin for the word in that acceptation.

with it. Offa's Dyke extends from the Dee to the Severn, near Chepstow.* It was constructed as a territorial boundary against the Welsh about the year 780, by Offa, King of Mercia. Tradition and history ascribe such a work to that monarch; but it appears quite incredible that it should have been executed in twelve days, as Matthew Paris relates: "Rex Offa ad cautelam inter ipsos duos exercitus communi assensu unum fossatum longum nimis et profundum effodi jussit aggere terrestri versus Wallenses eminenter elevato. Quæ omnia prout temporis brevitatis exigebat ante natale Domini, videlicet duodecim diebus licet brevissimis sunt completa."† As this line comprised an extent of at least 100 miles, the soldiery employed by Offa performed their work with a celerity with which modern "navigators," as delvers of tunnels, sewers, and railroads are somewhat whimsically termed, cannot compete. We must suppose, however, that they did little more in the twelve days than set out the boundary line. Many notices of the remains of Offa's Dyke occur in the publications of tourists in Wales. They appear to be very slight as compared with the Devil's Dyke. We are told that the traveller would pass it near Mold, in Flintshire, unnoticed if not pointed out; "all that remains is a small hollow which runs along the cultivated fields, perhaps not above 18 inches deep in the centre, nor more than 20 yards in breadth."‡

The first mention of the Devil's Dyke in history is found in the *Saxon Chronicle* under the year 905, which tells us that the land of the East Angles was laid waste between the Dyke and the Ouse, as far northward as the fens. The Dyke was termed in the Norman period St. Edmund's Dyke, because the jurisdiction of the Abbots of Bury St. Edmunds extended so far westward. The description of the Dyke by Abbo Floriacensis, a writer of the tenth century who had visited Britain, as quoted by Camden, is remarkable for its brief accuracy. Speaking of East Anglia, he says that, on the west, "this province joins to the rest of the island, and consequently there is a

* Warrington, vol. i., p. 163.

† Matt. Paris, in "Vit. Offæ Secundi," edit. Watts, p. 17.

‡ Offa's Dyke extended from the river Wye along the counties of Hereford and Radnor into that of Montgomery. It passed by Chirk Castle, crossed the Dee near Plas Madoc, now forms part of the turnpike road to Wrexham, and terminates at a farm near Treyddin Chapel, in the parish of Mold. Watt's Dyke commences in the parish of Oswestry, pursues its course near Wrexham, and terminates near the Abbey of Basinwerk. The two dykes above mentioned run in a parallel course for many miles, and are often confounded by topographers. Offa's Dyke is ditched towards the Welsh side; on which side Watt's Dyke is ditched does not appear from the authorities I have consulted. See Sir Richard Colt Hoare's "Girald. Camb. Notes;" "Cambrian Traveller's Companion," under Mold. See also notices of Offa's Dyke by the late Rev. Thos. D. Fosbroke, F.S.A., who resided in its vicinity, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. cii. ii. 501; vol. iii., New Series, p. 490. [*Ante*, pp. 206-217]

passage; but to prevent the enemies' frequent incursions it is defended by a bank *like a lofty wall* and a ditch."* A reference to the sketch and section accompanying these notes will at a glance show the appropriate character of Abbo's words.

The day is not now, perhaps, very remote when our national antiquities of the earlier period will be submitted to more careful investigation than they have hitherto received. These are matters which belong to the chartered Society of Antiquaries and the Society of Archæologists newly established, as a body, and to every one of their members in their individual sphere.

A much more careful survey than I have had leisure to make of the Devil's Dyke throughout its course, and exploration of the adjacent lows or barrows, would probably develop very conclusive indications of its origin. In such an examination similar works adjacent would not be altogether neglected, and an opinion might be formed whether they were mere outworks of the Master Dyke.

An instance of the adoption, in modern times, of a long-extended defence by a ditch and rampart is to be found in the military canal formed during the late war to cover the marsh-lands of Kent and Sussex between Sandgate and Rye.†

I have hitherto omitted to mention that I observed some fragments of Roman tile scattered near the Dyke, and that it appears to have been cut through in forming the present high road from Newmarket to Cambridge. That is some evidence for its very high antiquity. I recommend the explorer of this interesting fortification not to fail to visit the Dyke at the Links, to descend into the foss, and obtain the view I have given of its course, ascending the rising grounds southward in the direction of Wood Ditton. It will then be allowed I have drawn no exaggerated picture of the work. On the racecourse at Newmarket its character is not so bold; it has been broken through in order to form apertures for the running horses at places to which the general name of gates (*i.e.*, gaps) has been given, and the rains of centuries have had more effect in reducing its features. If opportunity should occur, I shall be happy at some future period to survey the entrenchment marked in the Ordnance map at Wood Ditton, and to trace the Dyke to its termination at Reach.

* *Camd. "Britannia" by Gibson, p. 407.*

† "Immediately under Shorn Cliff, and within half a mile from Sandgate, commences the new military canal which has recently been cut, to impede the progress of an enemy, in the event of a landing being effected on this shore. It extends from this parish (Sandgate) in nearly a straight direction along the coast till it passes Hythe, when it crosses the Romney Road, and, following the course of the hills which skirt the extensive flat forming Romney and Wallend marshes, terminates at Cliffe End, in Sussex, a distance of about 23 miles. Its breadth is about 30 yards, and its depth six, with a raised bank to shelter the soldiery."—Brayley's "Kent," p. 1114.

The question in the meanwhile still lies open, whether the Devil's Dyke is a Roman or a Saxon work, and any information tending to settle that point, conveyed through the medium of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, will be received with satisfaction. The generations of mankind rapidly pass away, but the monuments which their labour has erected on the surface of the earth remain. Tradition generally affords an uncertain or exaggerated view of their origin, if remote, or, at a loss for its traces, proclaims them the work of demons. Written records are sometimes scanty, or altogether wanting. Documents and relics are often worthless, if not submitted to critical analysis. In many cases the aid of actual survey and delineation, and of the mattock and spade, must be resorted to.

Coins, military weapons (observing whether these be of brass or iron), relics of domestic utensils or sepulchral rites, may then be sought for, and, as these are evidences generally capable of comparative and chronological classification, they become of importance, and in the hands of a judicious collector are no longer rubbish unfit to occupy that most valuable of commodities entrusted to our husbandry—time. [See Note 25.]

A. J. K.

Wareham : the Age of its Walls.*

[1865, *Part II.*, pp. 431-435.]

In the historical associations of the past, no place in Dorset possesses so great a claim on our interest as Wareham. Singular in position, as well as remarkable for its vestiges of a remote age—existing, if not in all the greatness, at least in all the greenness of their original strength, and thus presenting such an example of a walled town as to be without its parallel in this kingdom—the man of a thinking and investigating mind cannot fail to look on these extraordinary earthworks with astonishment, and not content therewith, will seek to ascertain by what people they were raised.

In his visions of the long past, Celt, Roman, Saxon, and Dane will pass in review before him ; and it is more than probable that if he takes but a cursory view of the vallations, an erroneous assignment of their constructors will follow. This quiet little town (with an atmosphere of dulness so overpowering as to be oppressive) is situated at the confluence of the Pydel and Frome, rivers which lave its north and south sides, as their slow and devious course is pursued through marshes and mud-banks ere they unite with the sea. The general aspect of the neighbourhood offers a pretty good criterion of what must have been its physical condition at the time to which we shall

* A paper offered to the Archæological Institute at Dorchester, but not read "for want of time."

have occasion to refer, a period when the æstuary being less silted up, the flats now represented by meadows and marshes were subjected to the tidal influence of its waters, whilst by a deeper channel a harbour was attained, in which the ships of both Saxon and Dane, as friend or foe, rode securely at anchor beneath the walls of the town. The Frome, as the most important of the two rivers, early gave its name to the place, and as such is brought before us for the first time in history, at the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century; a religious house having been established here, at "the spot known as Fro-mouth, by Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne." This name, so early recorded (and so descriptive of its position), in nowise recognises the site of the supposititious British town of Durngueis, which, had it existed here, that appellation, it might be thought, would have been adopted or modified by the Saxon historian.

At a later period we find this British name occurring in the Saxon annals, not as designating a town, but a tract of country: "The district which is called in British 'Durngueis,' in Saxon 'Thornsæta,'" clearly referring to the country around, and not to a particular place.

Commencing our investigation of these ancient "Walls of Wareham" at the river-side on the south-west, we ascend the acclivity by a deep fosse, which brings us near to the west port or gateway, and where this important fosse terminates, the defence being then taken up by a very strong and lofty rampart, having its sides and apex well and carefully formed.

The whole length of the earthwork forming the western side of this walled town is rectilinear in its course, until it makes a sudden turn to the right, taking up the protection of the north side, whilst at the foot of the rampart at this angle a platform and low breastwork is carried round for a short distance.

On keeping this line of the wall, a small water-gate is passed, which gives access to the river below; the gateway is formed by a slight recession opening inward on either hand of the vallum.

The rampart is then continued in a tolerably direct line for the whole of the north side, but not with that marked degree of regularity so observable on the west, a deviation which seems to be explained by the circumstance of the river flowing at its base for the whole of its length, and thus in a measure influencing the direction of the wall.

A similar arrangement of platform and breastwork to that already noticed is to be seen where the vallum completing the defence on the north by the river Pydel turns at an acute angle, and is carried in a direct line southwards towards the Frome, constituting the eastern wall of the town, which is, as it were, parallel with that on the west side, and has also a gateway known as the East Port, precisely opposite to the West Port.

The country eastward of Wareham must have been very wet and

marshy, and therefore difficult of access in bygone days—facts which sufficiently account for the weakness of the eastern rampart, as compared with that of the western; still, it is by no means a contemptible line of defence.

On Bestall (“by East Wall”) Farm there are traces of a low parallel agger in advance of this east wall, which is itself carried a moderate distance beyond its east port, but finally becomes lost before the river is attained. The inference most reasonable is, that the intervening space (now meadow) was at that time morass.

It will be seen by a due attention to these particulars that the plan of these earthworks is strictly rectangular, and analogous to the system generally used (seldom departed from) by the Romans; whilst the quadrilateral form, constructive features, and general finish of the whole differ so materially from any of our known Celtic works, that anyone at all acquainted with the earthworks of this latter class will at once see that they cannot be assigned to them.

For myself, I am inclined to regard these important entrenchments as the work of a later period, thrown up in those troublous times of our history when, after a long unrest, this county had been brought under Saxon rule, yet not delivered from the cruel ravages of the Danish freebooters.

The position of Fro-mouth at that wild epoch, in its easy access from the sea, as well as for the shelter it could afford to their (so termed) ships, must have largely contributed to its growth, and we thus early hear of it as a town of importance with the West Saxons; and few are the places which are brought more frequently or prominently before us in their annals than Wareham.

This importance, attested by its religious establishments and royal mints, conjoined to its facility of approach, operated as a lure to the Danes, who, heedless of its castle, then its only place of defence, were continually infesting and often occupying the town.

One instance alone, extracted from the Saxon annals, will sufficiently illustrate the fact, especially as it refers in a remarkable manner to the very subject in question:

“A. 876.—The army of the Pagans (*i.e.*, Danes), leaving Grantabridge by night, entered a castle called Wareham, where there is a monasterium of holy virgins, between the two rivers the Frome and Trent (*sic*), in the district which is called in the British *Durngueis*, but in Saxon *Thornseta*, placed in a most secure situation, except that it was exposed to danger on the western side, from the nature of the ground.”*

The words of the chronicler are very plain, and singularly explicit, the evidences after the lapse of well-nigh a thousand years are still as apparent as ever, for lying between two rivers, and protected by a

* Asser's “Life of Alfred,” *sub anno*.

marsh on its eastern side, the town was "in a most secure situation," as regarded those points; whilst the character of the country in the opposite direction has, during the lapse of centuries, undergone no material change, still a fine dry level soil, high above any river influence, "hence the danger on the western side from the nature of the ground."

This expression, "the nature of the ground," demonstrates alike the cause of security as well as of danger; whilst, had the present western lofty rampart been at that time in existence, then there might have been a plea, still a very weak one, in support of opinions which I believe have been advanced in favour of the Celtic origin of these earthworks, or, as now called, "walls;" but even then they would have been remarkable, and open to doubt from their anomalous character, so totally at variance with any recognised Celtic earthwork in the territory of the Durotriges. Nevertheless, I think it very probable that the high ground within the "walls" might have been occupied by a tribe of Britons, whose sepulchral mounds are to be seen scattered over the surrounding wilds, but at a time antecedent to the construction of these bulwarks.

Hutchins himself was inclined to attribute the erection of these entrenchments to the Danes, and that at a time to which our extract refers. At first sight this seems a very natural conclusion; but could he have sufficiently estimated the extent and magnitude of the undertaking, or reflected that on the Danish army leaving Grantabridge, one division marched into Northumbria, the other only coming to Wareham, whilst their occupation of Wareham was too limited in point of time for such a great work, and from whence, after breaking faith with Alfred, "they turned off" into Devonshire?

Admitting all that may be advanced in favour of Hutchins' theory, I am quite disposed to regard "the walls of Wareham" as a Saxon work, and of a somewhat (yet little) later period than that assigned by him, probably at the latter end of Alfred's reign, at a time when the country was restored to comparative tranquillity, but was still smarting from the cruel inflictions it had received from the Danes.

The occupation of the castle, noticed by the Saxon historian, is a sufficient proof that it was a much earlier work than that of the ramparts around the town; whilst it will be well for us to bear in mind that the castles of that early period were seldom more than hillocks, or mounds of earth.

There can be no reason for supposing that the castle at Wareham formed an exception to the general rule, but that like them as well, it was surrounded by entrenchments, within whose enclosure the Danes found admission. Its site within the fosse at the south-west corner adjoining the Frome is still indicated by a mound, or huge

excrescence of earth. Like many others,* it subsequently became occupied by a Norman structure, the foundations of which were discovered a few years since by the present proprietor when excavating for building.

With the exception of a mound or keep for their so-called castles, the castrametation of the Saxons was more general than specific, for, confined to no particular system of their own, they were open to adopt the principles of such military works as were before them, and best accorded to their purpose.

This will be seen especially manifested in "the walls of Wareham," and which seem clearly to have had their prototype in the not far distant castrum of Durnovaria, where was the model of a fortress, which they, by previous occupation, must have had both ample means and leisure for studying; and that they did this effectually is obvious, as its plan is carried out in perfect detail, not only in the great work before us, but in the town as well.

Such are the reasons which have led me to assign "the walls of Wareham" to the Saxon period, as indicated in my illustrated "Map of Dorsetshire: its Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and Danish Vestiges."

I have felt myself called on to make these explanations, as I believe my classification differs somewhat from opinions that have been elsewhere expressed.

Furthermore, I seize the present opportunity to refer to that fallacious theory which fixed the Moriconium of "the chirographer of Ravenna" at Wareham, and connected it by a presumed Roman road with their station at Durnovaria.

A careful examination of the neighbourhood fails to disclose any such road, although there are traces of a British trackway which, proceeding from this town, ultimately becomes lost or confused with a dyke, which in many places is to be seen as a marked object, pursuing a very irregular course westward through "the district of Durngueis."

Baxter, followed by Stukeley, was no doubt induced to place Moriconium at Wareham, as observing the order of its sequence to Clavinium. In all probability, both visited the town itself. If this was the case, they could not fail to have been deeply impressed with the Roman character, not merely of its ramparts, but with the internal arrangement of its streets as well, for so remarkable and striking is the analogy that the most experienced would be liable to be deceived by a casual visit.

That they were misled in fixing on Wareham as the site of Moriconium is borne out by the conclusive fact, that (with the exception

* These castles—as for example those of Carisbrooke, Hastings, and others—often occupied the sites of earlier strongholds; whilst the position of that at Wareham, on comparatively high ground over the Frome, seems to have been one that would have been selected by the Britons, after whom it became occupied alternately by Saxon and Dane, prior to its adoption by the Normans.

of a first-brass coin of Antoninus Pius) not a Roman vestige of any kind has ever been discovered, in or near the town, within the memory of its oldest inhabitant; while Jordan Hill in Preston, the site of Clavinium, has been found to abound with these remains, including public edifices, tessellated pavements, etc.

Ample reasons have been adduced for differing from Baxter and Stukeley; whilst we may rest assured that, had they been aware of the facts now stated with reference to Wareham, as well as of the existence of a Vicinal Way, from the Via Iceniana to the shores of the Poole estuary at Hamworthy, they would have been spared the error.

This Vicinal Way, traceable for its entire course, is in many places very prominent, and could not have been objectless; whilst its termination safely indicates a position of consideration, such as may well be occupied by Moriconium—an *entrepôt* where, by means of the Via, the stations of the interior kept up a communication with the sea.

This appropriation is strengthened by so many confirmatory evidences as may lead us to consider it to be established; yet as this arrangement interferes with Bolvelaunium, which the same antiquaries place at Poole, I have assigned it to Christ Church, for it cannot be supposed that two stations would be in such close proximity.

The latter place seems the more reasonable site, as situated at the confluence of the Avon and Stour, where Roman remains have been found, and where the former river constituted the eastern border of the territory of the Durotriges. [See Note 26.]

CHARLES WARNE, F.S.A.

King Alfred and the River Lea.

[1866, *Part I.*, p. 697.]

Some of your readers may occasionally make a pilgrimage by the Great Eastern Railway to Waltham Abbey. If so, they may be glad to know from a resident that the various streams of the River Lea which they cross between the railway station and the town still flow just as they did in King Alfred's time. I allude especially to the first stream that you cross in coming from the railway station, and the mill-streams in the town, and not to the great navigation stream at the entrance of the town, which of course is of modern date. But very few people indeed are aware that King Alfred's great work in these parts was the raising of the banks of the three streams which the Great Eastern Railway crosses between Mile End and Stratford, and that the embankments, now in good order after nearly ten centuries, were King Alfred's works, raised by him for the sake of carrying off the waters from the valley of the Lea. He finished the embankment of the River Thames at Blackwall, and thereby laid the Danish fleet, which had sailed up to Ware in Hertfordshire, high and dry. He

afterwards raised the banks of these three streams, and placed them, and all that district, under the charge of commissioners, who are reappointed every ten years, with additions, by the Lord Chancellor, of a certain number of independent gentlemen, selected from the county of Essex, who have great powers, and who, without fee or reward, have exercised these powers, and still exercise them, to the great advantage of the neighbourhood and the public in general.

I am, etc., P. G.

P.S. The trustees of the River Lea Navigation, which is a very old trust, are selected from the Counties of Middlesex, Essex, and Hertfordshire. They give gratuitous services.

Battle of Brunnan.

[1822, *Part I.*, pp. 3-6.]

In the early history of our country there is perhaps no one to whom we are more indebted than Mr. Sharon Turner, who, in compiling his "History of the Anglo-Saxons," has explored so many before-hidden treasures, as to produce an abundant detail of events that, but for him, might probably have still remained unheeded and unknown; and although the transactions of that eventful portion of our history are yet so scanty as to hurry us over a vast period of time, through a quick succession of barbarous and revolting incidents, yet the events of those times are nevertheless worthy of our most serious consideration: in them, indeed, we see as it were the germ of our national civilization, struggling against the rude shocks of ignorance and barbarism, and yet increasing to a growing shoot; then assisted and nurtured by the introduction of the mild truths of Christianity, we see that shoot overpowering all barbarian obstacles, and expanding itself into a large and spreading tree, under whose full-grown and shady branches we now enjoy the sweet repose of historic contemplation, counting the many blessings of the present, and contrasting them with the miseries of the past.

Shocking as the detail may be, yet the violent usurpations of power, the murders and desolations committed with fire and sword, and the bloody contests that were continually taking place between one or other of the many sovereigns of our Saxon ancestors, may truly be considered as having laid the foundation of our present national independence; and each greater contest that is recorded becomes doubly interesting to the present generation, by having some accompanying proofs of its locality.

Of the many invasions of Great Britain by the Northern barbarians, none appear to have taken place within the county of Lincoln, until after the conquest of Northumbria by Ivan, when (temp. 871) the Danes landed at Humberstone (on the Lincolnshire coast), and com-

menced that too successful irruption, which, proceeding through the county southward, destroyed the monasteries of Bardney and Croyland, and desolated the whole country; and being assisted also in its progress by the petty jealousies of the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns, triumphed over each kingdom, in detail, and, in the end, made the great Alfred himself a temporary fugitive in his own dominions.

From the period of this devastation, and during the subsequent struggles of Alfred in regaining his kingdom, and to the time of his final triumph over the Danes, none of the important events recorded give any local interest to the north of Lincolnshire, nor is anything particularly stated, so as to place any military operations of consequence immediately on the banks of the River Humber, until the reign of Athelstan, when the great battle of Brunnenburgh was fought.

Without giving you the full detail of Mr. Turner's history of the events which occasioned this great contest, it may be useful to premise that almost upon every accession of our elective Anglo-Saxon monarchs to the sovereignty of their respective States, it was invariably necessary that they should have recourse to arms, in order to support or confirm their authority; and the submission that was made by the sovereigns of Northumbria, Scotland, and Wales, to Edward, was but ill attended to, when the sceptre was conceded to his successor Athelstan; the consequence of which was, that Athelstan soon added Northumbria to his dominions, and ravaged Scotland and Wales. His successes, however, were not long to be enjoyed unmolested; for one of the most powerful confederacies that ever had been formed sprung up against him, and threatened his whole kingdom with present annihilation.

Anlaf (who had been driven from Northumbria), assisted by Constantine, King of Scotland, several of the Welsh princes, and the Anglo-Danes, north of the Humber, and also augmented by fleets of warriors from Norway and the Baltic, formed "an attack of such magnitude, it seemed a certain calculation that the single force of Athelstan must be overthrown." He so managed, however, as to gain time, and be prepared to meet the storm; and finally, in the battle of Brunnenburgh, he completely defeated their combinations.

In this battle the contending armies were so numerous, the circumstances so particular, the slaughter so great, and the consequences so important, that it may not inaptly be compared to the modern Waterloo.

Every reader of Mr. Turner's History will no doubt be delighted with his description of the particular events of this most important period, and especially with his representation of this battle; and it only leaves a regret that the site of such events should not have been identified with his description.

In my edition (being the first) of Mr. Turner's History, with

reference to the battle of Brunnansburgh, he subjoins the following note :

“It is singular that the position of this famous battle is not ascertained : the Saxon Song says it was at Brunnanburh. Ethelwerd, a contemporary, names the place Brunnandune ; Simeon of Durham, Weondune or Ethunnanwerch, or Brunnan byrge ; Malmsbury, Brunford. Ingulf says, Brunford in Northumbria. These of course imply the same place. But where is it ? Camden thought it was at Ford near Bromeridge in Northumberland. Gibson mentions, that in Cheshire there is a place called Brunburgh. I observe that the Villare mentions a Brunton in Northumberland.”

Accidentally looking into Macpherson's “Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History,” with reference to this same event, and under the title “Brunnanburgh,” I found the following observation :

“All authors, except Ingulf, give reason to believe that this famous battle was fought to the southward of the Humber. The invading allies were on their progress from that river when they were met by Athelstan ; and it is probable that Brunne, now Bourne, in the south part of Lincolnshire, near which is Witham (perhaps formerly Weondune), may have been the place.”

To which is added the following note :

“Everyone acquainted with the old English knows that Burn and Brun are the same, and the addition of Burgh might be dropped from it, as it has been from many others ; *e.g.*, Lundenburgh or Lundenbyrig, now London.”

Coupling these queries and observations with my own, I have ventured to presume that I am able to determine this hitherto doubtful point, and to lay down the exact position where the battle was fought ; in order to which, however, I must again refer to Mr. Turner's History for information, “that Anlaf commenced the warfare by entering the Humber with a fleet of 615 ships ;” and also, “that he soon overpowered the forces which Athelstan had posted in Northumbria.” It does not appear how far Anlaf's force was personally engaged in producing these advantages north of the Humber ; and from the silence of our historians, we may infer that the magnitude of the invading force was such as made it necessary that Athelstan should withdraw his troops from the north and concentrate them in a more southerly position. Although the ships of the period we are now speaking of were not vessels of large burthen, yet, from the number which entered the Humber, it has been inferred that Anlaf had with him an army of 30,000 men at the least ; and in order to engage and divide Athelstan's attention from the north, he would naturally, and with as little delay as possible, debark and take up a position on the south bank of the River Humber.

My conjecture is that Anlaf landed the main body of his army at Barrow, taking up a position at the head of the creek or haven there,

about three-quarters of a mile distant from the river, where he threw up entrenchments, and that he in a similar way posted his allies at Barton; which conjecture is founded on the natural positions these two places present for debarkation, both having a creek or haven running inland, and capacious enough together to harbour the whole or most of Anlaf's ships; and also having positions called the Castles or Castle Dikes to this day at Barrow; indeed, the remains of what I consider to be Anlaf's intrenched camp are yet undemolished, and comprise an area of about eight acres of land, now called the Castles. At Barton we have only two positions, known by the name of the Castle Dikes, one at a little distance from the head of the present haven, on the west of the town; and the other in advance on the east; the one commanding the ancient road westward from Barton to Ferriby; the other, the two roads eastward and southward, viz., the road to Barrow on the east, and the road from Barton in a southeasterly direction to Grimsby and Louth, called the Old Street; and which three roads were most probably the only public roads then existing.

Drawing a line from the mouth of Barton Haven to that of Barrow, along the river bank, and which in extent may be calculated at about two miles; and making this line the base of a triangle, the apex of the angle at a point perpendicular to the centre of the base, and at the distance of four miles, will give the advanced position I have laid down for Athelstan's forces, this point being within the manor or lordship, and a little in advance of the present hamlet or vill of Burnham, anciently called Brunnun or Brunnen.

The lordship of Burnham is bounded on the north by the lordships of Barrow and Barton, and on the south by the lordship of Wootton, and I have no doubt but that the Brunnendune and Weondune of the Saxon Chronicles are the same as the present Burnham Dale and Wootton Dale, a little way in the rear, or south of the present hamlet of Burnham.

The manor and estate of Burnham is within the parish of Thornton Curtis, and was formerly belonging to the Abbey of Thornton.

In Bishop Tanner's "Notitia," amongst other references to the grants of property to Thornton Abbey, you will find this manor amongst others (in Cart. 29 Edw. I. n. 26), noted as the manor of Brunnun; and upon a late inspection of the documents relating to these estates, I found a sheep pasture, part of the Burnham property, described as being known by the name of the Black Nold, evidently a corruption from Black Knoll, or the Bloody Hill as we may term it; and no doubt, having reference to the scite of the bloody contest we have now in contemplation. This knoll is also in our day pointed out by the name (Black Mould) given to the extreme northern point, or front of the position I have laid down for Athelstan, and which is within the lordship of Barrow.

From the account given of the engagement, it appears that the confederates were pursued down the hill, quite into the plains, so that they must have been driven quite out of the lordship of Burnham into the adjoining lordship of Barrow, where the hill terminates with a deep narrow valley. On the opposite hill, within the lordship of Barton, a thorn-tree some years ago stood (denominated *St. Trunnion's Tree*); and as a spring of water on the west of the town of Barton, adjoining the Castle Dikes (where I suppose part of Anlaf's forces were stationed), bears the like name of *St. Trunnian's*, I could in fancy connect this with some sainted person among the confederates who may have lost his life in this engagement; for we know that bishops as well as Lord Chancellors, in those days, took a prominent part in the military services of their country, and are remarkably particularized in this battle.

The front of the encampment of Anlaf was to a considerable distance defended by an impassable bog, and having the haven on its right flank. It was well defended on all sides against surprise, although, according to modern tactics, it would be commanded by the rising grounds in front as well as on the left of the latter eminence; however, Anlaf had no doubt some troops posted, as this part of the lordship of Barrow to this day bears the name of the *Hann Field*.

Dr. Stukeley visited this encampment; and, in his "Itinerarium," makes the following observations on it:

"At Barrow we were surprised with a castle, as the inhabitants call it, upon the salt marshes. Upon view of the works, I wondered not that they say it was made by Humber, when he invaded Britain, in the time of the Trojan Brutus; for it is wholly dissonant from any thing I had seen before; but after sufficient examen, I found it to be a temple of the old Britons, therefore to be referred to on another occasion."

If we substitute the name of Anlaf for that of Humber, we shall find that the information which Dr. Stukeley received from the inhabitants in his time strongly corroborates my conjectures.

The whole circle of the mounds or banks of this intrenchment were all some fifty years ago, and some of them still remaining, of a considerable height; and the circular mount in the centre is of still higher elevation than any of the mounds, and I presume may now be 20 feet above the general level of the adjoining marshes, and commands a view over all the encampment and the immediate neighbourhood. The top of this mount forms rather a hollow circle, the diameter of which measures about 70 yards; the banks were all formerly further defended by deep ditches, which are now nearly filled up; although in one of the mounds there appear a few chalk stones, there is no appearance of any buildings having been erected within any part of the area. The position of this intrenchment is at the extremity of the level called

the Marshes, from the Humber, and on the only part that is above the ordinary level of the marsh in Barrow. Upon an occasion, some years ago, of the tide of the Humber breaking down the banks, and overflowing the adjoining level, the cattle in the marshes saved themselves by flying to this spot. A curious circumstance was told me by an old resident near the spot, who happened to join my friend and me, while we were measuring the area of this encampment, which deserves to be noted. About sixty or seventy years ago, he said, a stranger who was from Denmark came to visit these castles, and employed an old labourer of Barrow for several days, to dig in a particular part of the intrenchment until he found what he came to look for, when, after handsomely remunerating the labourer for his trouble, he took his departure. I was sorry to find that the old man so employed had only been dead about five years, and regretted that he was not alive to give me the particulars; the story, however, is well in the recollection of most of the farmers in the place. It was added, that the stranger, before he came to Barrow, had been for a month or two in search of his object at the hill top at Alkborough, adjoining the conflux of the Trent and Ouse.

The allotment of land in which the greatest part of the area of this intrenchment is placed, is now the property of William Graburn, Esq., who has had it in contemplation to build an appropriate cottage on the top of the centre mound, which, when erected, will command a pleasing elevation.

A traveller taking the road from Barton to Castor, by way of Burnham, will have the eminence on which the Battle of Brunnum was fought immediately on his right hand, on his entering the lordship of Burnham; and a traveller on the road from Barton to Lincoln will observe this same fine eminence at about half a mile distance on his left, when he leaves the lordship of Barton.

At the period of Anlaf's invasion, I should presume that this part of Lincolnshire must have been very thinly inhabited; and considering that the ancient word *Borough*, often pronounced *Barrow*, signifies a fortified place or defence, I could wish to ask some of your better informed correspondents whether these positions of Anlaf may not have had some influence on the names of the two towns *Barrow* and *Barton*? Bishop Tanner, in his notes with reference to the Monastery of St. Chad at Barrow, mentions that Bede calls it *Berwe*, *i.e. at the Wood*. [See Note 27.]

W. S. HESLEDEN.

An Attempt to discover the Locality of the Ancient Anglo-Saxon See of Sidnacester.

[1864, *Part I.*, pp. 713-724.]

"To be unacquainted with the events which have taken place before we were born, is to continue to live in childish ignorance," says the Roman orator Cicero; "for where is the value of human life, unless memory enables us to compare the events of our own times with those of ages long gone by?"

History informs us that after the death of Oswy, King of Northumbria, Egfrid his son wrested the province of Lindsey from Wulphere, King of Mercia; and that, A.D. 678, he placed Eadhed over the Church of Lindsey, and designated him *Bishop of Sidnacester*.

Florence of Worcester, whose chronicle ends A.D. 1118, says that "Eadhed was appointed bishop of the province of the Lindisfarri [or people of Lindsey], and that now for the first time that province has a ruler."

The Saxon Chronicle remarks, under the year A.D. 678, "That Eadhed was consecrated bishop over the men of Lindsey; he was the first of the bishops of Lindsey." Leland adds, "Whose cathedra was in the city which is called Sidnacester."

In A.D. 679 the province of Lindsey was reconquered by the Mercians, who expelled Eadhed, and put in his place the following bishops:

	A.D.		A.D.
2. Æthelwin	- - - 679	6. Eadulf I.	- - - ob. 765
3. Eadgar	- - - 701	7. Ceolulf	- - - ob. 787
4. Cynebert	- - - 731	8. Eadulf II.	- - - 803
5. Alwigh	- - - 750	9. Burthrede	- - - 850

The cathedral probably destroyed by the Danes A.D. 870.*

The succession of the bishops of Sidnacester was now interrupted by the Danish occupants of the province of Lindsey, until their expulsion by Edward the Elder, A.D. 941. Soon after this period Sidnacester was conferred on Leofwine, Bishop of Dorchester, and thence allotted to that see.†

As there is no such place at the present time, the question naturally arises, where was the cathedral of Sidnacester situated? It was undoubtedly the head of one of the five *parochiæ* into which the kingdom of Mercia was distributed, the other four being Leicester, Worcester, Lichfield, and Dorchester.

Matthew of Westminster, who wrote A.D. 1377, when speaking of the two bishops of Sidnacester, Ceolfus and Eadulphus, remarks, "We do not know where these bishops had their cathedral seat."

Wharton also, in his "Anglia Sacra," asserts that "hitherto its situation has not been known." And Gibson, in the "Britannia,"

* *Vide* "Chron. Angl. Petroburg.," *sub anno* A.D. 870.

† *Vide* "Monast. Anglicanum."

confirms this statement by saying, "This [Sidnacester] is now so entirely gone, that neither ruins nor name are now in being." Hence, says the historian of the county of Lincoln, "most antiquarians have adopted a general mode of description." One says it was near Gainsborough; another, in Lincolnshire, near the Humber; a third, in this part of the county; and others are entirely silent on the subject. Mr. Johnson thought it was Hatfield, in the county of York; Dr. Stukeley, at Newark-upon-Trent. Mr. Dickinson, in his history of that town, has adopted it, and endeavoured to establish it by additional but unsatisfactory arguments, as will be hereafter demonstrated. Horsley, in his "Britannia Romana," after having fixed the Roman station Causennæ of Antoninus's Itinerary at Ancaster, supposes that place to have been Sidnacester. Mr. Stark, in his history of the bishopric of Lincoln, endeavours to prove that "Stow," or, as Huntingdon calls it, "S. Mariæ Locus sub promontorio Lincolnæ," was the site of Sidnacester.

It will hereafter be shown that none of these places are entitled to the honour of having been the locality of this ancient city.

Writers of bygone days describe with sufficient accuracy the boundaries of Lindsey to discover that they enclose the tract of country which still retains the name of Lindsey. Bede says, "The province of Lindsey is the first on the south side of the river Humber, stretching out as far as the sea." Matthew of Westminster says that "Lindsey lies between Lincoln and the river Humber;" and further, "The Province of Lindsey, which is to the south of the river Humber." Higden, whose "Poly-chronicon" comes down to A.D. 1363, states that "the province of Lindisfarr is the same as Lindsey, and that it lies towards the east of Lincoln, which is the head of it." Here is given the northern boundary, the Humber; and its southern or south-western boundary, the city of Lincoln. This will invalidate the claims of Hatfield, Newark, and Ancaster, because not one of these places is in the province of Lindsey.

The observations of Dr. Stukeley, quoted by Mr. Dickinson, that "the divisions of counties were not made till the time of Alfred; that the wapentake of Newark was forcibly taken out of Lincolnshire; and that the river Trent was the ancient, because it was the natural, boundary between that county and Nottinghamshire,"—are assertions which, if granted, would prove nothing in favour of his opinion; because the position on which his argument rests, that that *provincia Lindisse* was taken out by our ancestors in so large a sense that "it meant all Lincolnshire, of which Lindum was the capital city," is unfounded, as appears by the definition of its boundary before quoted from Bede and other authors.

Bishop Gibson, in the "Britannia," when speaking of the neighbourhood of Gainsborough, says: "In this part of the county stood formerly the city of Sidnacester, once the seat of the bishops of

those parts, who were called Bishops of Lindisfarri ;" and then he adds, " There is another place that may probably enough be thought of, namely, the hills above Lea and Gainsborough, where have been taken up many pieces of Roman urns, and many coins of those emperors. The Castle-hills," continues the Bishop, " eastward from Gainsborough Church, are surrounded with entrenchments, containing (as is said) more than one hundred acres."

In the reign of King Stephen the hills above Gainsborough were called " Wetheberg," from the circumstance, I presume, of their forming a part of the ridge of high ground upon which the Danish camps are situated.* In Bishop Gibson's time they appear to have been called the Castle-hills, though no castle was ever erected upon them. It is more than probable that Wertha, † the grandfather of Hengist and Horsa, in some of his marauding excursions occupied some of these encampments. They are of various sizes and forms, oblong like the Roman, who had many encampments in the neighbourhood of Gainsborough, and orbicular like the Scandinavian. This will account for the finding of Roman urns, coins, etc., upon this tract of territory. Historians relate that Swene the Danish tyrant was slain in one of these encampments by an unknown hand, on the night of the Purification of St. Mary, A.D. 1013. ‡

There are no vestiges of any foundations of any kind of building on these hills, which the Bishop calls Castle-hills ; they probably took the name from their contiguity to the castle which King Stephen gave to William de Romara, Lord of Bolingbroke, A.D. 1141. § The castle was situated at the foot of these hills, on the right bank of the Trent. The place is now called the Old Hall.

There is no place in the vicinity of Gainsborough that can with any show of probability be called the site of Sidnacester.

The writer who says that " Sidnacester was in Lincolnshire, near the Humber," means Barrow-on-the-Humber. This place was anciently called *ad Barve*, or " at the wood," where Wulphere, King of Mercia, gave Chad, Bishop of Mercia, " land of fifty families to build a monastery." " In this place," says Bede, " are marks of the regular life instituted by him, which continue to this day." ¶ At the present time there is an ancient Saxon church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, therefore it cannot be Sidnacester.

As to the opinion of the historian of the bishopric of Lincoln, Mr. Stark, and others who suppose that Stow St. Mary was the ancient Sidnacester, it is sufficient to say that the former place had scarcely any existence when the latter was the seat of the bishop. Stow St.

* " Mon. Angl.," vi., p. 824.

† *Vide* T. Sprotti " Chronica," p. 99.

‡ " Chron. Angl. Petroburg.," *sub anno* ; also Lansd. MSS., 207, E. 534 ; also " Ex Chron. Ely.," p. 248.

§ " Mon. Angl.," vol. i., p. 824.

¶ Bede, " Eccles. Hist.," lib. iv., cap. 3.

Mary took its rise from the following circumstance. About A.D. 672 Etheldreda, the Queen of Edwin, King of Northumbria, rested on a flowery umbrageous spot of ground on her way to the Isle of Ely; and on account of a miracle which was wrought there, she caused a church to be erected to commemorate the event in honour of the Virgin Mary. From that time the place was called Ethelredestow, which in Latin is *repausatio Ethelredæ*, or "Ethelreda's resting-place." Before the Queen's arrival there were no houses at Stow, it was only a flowery mead interspersed with ash-trees; after the building of the church a village sprang up around it.* Thus it is manifest Stow could not be Sidnacester.

There are three villages in Domesday in the province of Lindsey called *Chirchebi*, which are at this day called—*Kirkby (East)*, dedicated to St. Nicholas, 6 miles west-south-west of Spilsby; *Kirkby-cum-Osgodby*, dedicated to St. Denis, 4 miles north-west by north of Market Rasen; *Kirkby-upon-Bain*, dedicated to St. Mary, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Horncastle.

Chirchebi is the Norman mode of writing the Anglo-Saxon *Circeby*. The Normans usually put the letter *h* after the Anglo-Saxon *C*, as *Circe*, *Chirche*. The Danes make the *Ch* into *K*, thus *Chirche* becomes *Kirke*. The terminal *by* signifies "a dwelling;" hence *Chirchebi* signifies "the site or place of a church." These three churches are too insignificant ever to have been more than the churches of the vills whose names they bear. They were evidently of Anglo-Saxon foundation, as the term *bi* shows, from the Sax. *by*, Isl. *by*, "a dwelling."

There is a fourth place in the province of Lindsey written in Domesday *Chirchetone*, which Dr. Pegge conjectures (for he allows it no higher character) to be the site of Sidnacester.† At this day it is called Kirton-in-Lindsey, to distinguish it from Kirton-in-Holland. It is situated about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of the Ermine Street, and about midway between Lincoln and the Humber, just opposite the place where Richard of Cirencester places the *mansio in medio* in the seventeenth Iter.

It appears from Domesday‡ that Kirton in the time of King Edward was a place of great importance, and that when the Survey was made it was worth eighty pounds. Earl Edwin held a court at Kirton of twenty manors, when two hundred and twenty-three soke-men attended.§

* Brit. Mus. Cotton. MSS., Domitian, A. xv. fo. 17; also "Mon. Angl.," vol. i., p. 90; also "Ex Lib. de Genealog. et Vita S. Ethelredæ," p. 854.

† Vide Dr. Pegge's Dissertation on Sidnacester in Nichols's "Leicestershire," Appendix, p. 3.

‡ Orig. 339.

§ *Soca* was the power and privilege of hearing and determining causes and disputes, levying forfeitures and fines, executing laws, and administering justice within a certain precinct. Socmen, says Nichols, were those inferior landowners

When we consider the manner in which the ancient and valuable document called *Dom-boc* was compiled, we may rest satisfied that nothing would be entered in it without due consideration, and that each subject would be thoroughly sifted before it was chronicled.

The commissioners for the parts of Lindsey were Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln; Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham; Henry de Ferers; and Adam the brother of Eudo Dapifer, who probably associated with them some principal person in the neighbourhood.

The inquirers, it appears upon the oath of the sheriff, the lord of the manor, the presbyter of the church, the reve of the hundred, the bailiff and six villans of the place, were, among other questions, to inquire into *the name of the place*.*

The name of the place, according to the spelling of the Norman scribes in Domesday, is *Chirchetone*, which evidently signifies "Churchtown," the place where the principal church or cathedral of the diocese was situated. Although there is no mention made in Domesday Book of a church, it does not necessarily follow there was not one, or at least the ruins of one. No notice whatever is taken of the church of Dorchester, although the seat of the bishopric had only been removed from it a short time before the taking of the Survey.

It is a matter of history that at the Conquest every vill had its church. When the Survey was made there was no injunction to the jurors to make a return of churches, consequently the mention of them at all was irregular. At the time of the Survey there were no less than 45,011 parish churches within the kingdom, whereas the whole number actually noticed in the Survey amounts to a few more than 1,700.†

It is probable that the church at Kirton was in ruins, having been destroyed by the marauding Danes, who in A.D. 870 massacred the inhabitants of Lindsey, destroyed by fire the Christian churches and monasteries, and plundered the towns and villages.‡ Henry I. rebuilt it, and gave it to St. Mary's, Lincoln.§

A.D. 949, according to Le Neve,|| Leofwyn had the diocese of

in the soc or franchise of a great baron, privileged villans, who though their tenures were absolutely copyhold, yet had an interest equal to a freehold. Socmen owed suit and service to the lord's court. The bishop and the earl sat together in the county court, the bishop as chancellor, to deliver *Dei rectum* and *populum docere*; the earl as secular judge, to deliver *rectum seculi* and *populum coercere*; as is manifest by the laws of King Edgar and others. The county court was assembled twice, and the hundreds and wapentakes twelve times in a year. The custom of Borough English still remains in the Manor of Kirton.

* "Reports of Public Records," p. 383.

† *Vide* Spelman's "Gloss.," p. 349; Sprott's "Hearne," p. 114.

‡ Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," vol. i., p. 513.

§ *Vide* in "Mon. Angl.," tom. iii., pt. i., p. 257; Add. MSS., 3,126.

|| "Fasti Ecclesie Anglic."

Sidnacester committed to him. It had continued void almost eighty years, and the see for both was established at Dorchester. A.D. 1092 the see was removed to Lincoln.*

A.D. 1085 the Survey of Lindsey was completed, therefore the time elapsed between 949, when the see of Sidnacester was united to Dorchester, and the time when the commissioners made the inquiry about the name of the place, etc., was 136 years; so that the father or the grandfather of most of the persons would be living at the time of the removal of the see of Sidnacester to Dorchester, and thus they would be able to transmit to their children or grandchildren a correct account of the place and its name, and they, again, would be able on oath to declare to the commissioners the state and name of the place. The name given in Domesday, as was before observed, is *Chirchetone*. In Anglo-Saxon *tún*, or Normanicè *tone*, in the end of names of places signifies a town, or, properly, an enclosure or place defended against unwelcome intrusion either by the simplest fence or the strongest fortification. The difference between *Chirchebi* and *Chirchetone* is this: the former means simply the place of a church, while the latter signifies a church that is protected by an enclosure. As Kirton is the only place in the province of Lindsey mentioned in Domesday as an enclosed church, it is fair to infer that this enclosure was added by way not only of protection, but to designate it by some outward mark as a church of eminence—in short, as the *sedes episcopalis* of the diocese.

Sidnacester appears to be compounded of *Sidna* and *cester*. *Sidna* is the Anglo-Saxon genitive plural of *Side*; † *cester* is the Anglo-Saxon for any trench or bank of an old camp, called by the Britons *caer*, and all places which had been walled by the Romans the Saxons called *cester*. § The British name for Sidnacester would be *Caer Sidin*, i.e., the "sanctuary of Side."

[The four next paragraphs are omitted, as they are devoted to the proving that "Side was one of the names of Ceres, the genius of the ark and the mother of mankind."]

That the Britons paid adoration to Side, is manifest in all the Bardic writings, particularly in the poem of Taliesin concerning the sons of Llyr. He says:

"Ys cyweir fy nghadeir ynghaer Sidi,"
("Complete is my chair in *Caer Sidi*.")||

Sidnacester appears to have been built upon a temple of Sidè. It

* Matt. Par., *sub anno*.

† Florence writes it "Siddena;" Higden, "ad urbem Sidenciam;" Langhorne, "Sidnacestrensis;" Gervas, "Sidnica." Vide "Flor. Wigor.," p. 622; Langhorne's "Chron.," p. 233; Gervas, "Act. Pont. Cant. Polych.," lib. I., p. 52.

‡ *Sidè*, gen. s. *Siden*, gen. p. *Sidena* or *Sidna*.

§ Vide T. Richards' British Dict., "Caer."

|| Vide Davies' "British Druids," p. 294.

is a well-known fact that Christian missionaries turned to account the *religio loci*, and whenever a substantial building was found in existence, it was taken possession of for the benefit of the new religion.*

Under these circumstances nothing was more natural than the establishment of a baptismal church in a place that adopted Christianity, and that the substitution of one creed for the other not only did not require the abolition of the old machinery, but would be much facilitated by retaining it. Therefore there would be nothing uncommon in establishing a Christian church on an ancient temple of Sidè, the British Ceres.

This appears to have been the case at Kirton, for when that church was rebuilt after the Conquest, care was taken to place over the south door an old stone on which was an assemblage of Runic knots, taken from a former building, which doubtless was the ruins of Sidnacester, and that this stone formed part of the temple of Sidè.† The learned Hickee tells us that these Runic gyrations signify an indissoluble knot of piety and affection; by the Scandinavians the Runic knot was called a true-love knot or emblem of plighted fidelity.‡ On sacred edifices it is a symbol or badge of dependence on the supreme dominion which the Almighty has over all His works. It is the *Euordorchogion* of the ancient Druids.§ The stone with the Runic knots is still over the priest's door of Kirton Church. [The seven next paragraphs are omitted, as they deal with Bryant's theories of British mythology.]

From the arguments adduced, may it not be said that it is highly probable that Sidnacester was built upon a heathen temple of Sidè, at the place now called Kirton-in-Lindsey? We have attempted to show that no other place in the province of Lindsey was so likely as the *Chirchetone* of Domesday, being the most important town in the division; and that at the time of the Survey, Count Edwin had upwards of 220 sokemen to attend his court, which had the jurisdiction over twenty manors. To say nothing of the etymology of the word *Chirchtone*, certainly this place appears to be the site of the ancient

* The custom of erecting churches on the site of heathen temples continued in Scotland to the tenth century, for Patric, Bishop of Hebrides, desires Orlygus to found a church where he should find three upright stones. *Vide* Johnstone's "Antiq. Celto-Scand.," p. 15.

† Incised stones and Runic knots upon them are found in the walls of almost every church in the Isle of Man, indicating that these churches were built upon the sites of heathen temples. Such stones were preserved by the first builders of churches in England, Scotland, and Ireland. *Vide* "Archæologia," v. 5; Pennant's "Tour in Scotland," etc. Bartholini gives a curious instance, *sup.*, p. 613.

‡ *Vide* Icelandic Gospel of St. Mark, chap. i., where *trulofad* is "promised" or "engaged."

§ *Vide* "W. Archæolog.," p. 212; *Cydddelw* poem.

episcopal see. Where in the whole of Lindsey could a more suitable locality be found than at Kirton, situated between Lindum, or Lincoln, and Ad Abum, or the Humber, near a most beautiful Roman road which goes in a direct line through a great part of the diocese? From it there would be free access to every part of the province—a circumstance which is of great importance to a missionary community. When the see of Sidnacester was founded, the bishop and his clergy lived together. From the episcopal residence they went to instruct the heathen in the diocese, and to administer the rites of the Church. In course of time, churches sprang up as circumstances permitted, and some time before the Conquest every village had its church and “preost;” although only 222 churches were returned in the Survey for Lincolnshire, yet unexceptionable evidence can be adduced of the existence of a larger number.* It is manifest that in the reign of Edward the Confessor there must have been a very great number of what were strictly called parish churches, it being asserted in one of the laws ascribed to that king that in many places there were three or four churches, where in former times there was but one.†

GEORGE DODDS, D.D.

The Place of St. Oswald's Death.

[1866, *Part II.*, p. 167.]

There dawns slowly, in the far-away gloom, a hope that some day the Saxon Chronicle will be known as a convenient abridgment of other more copious local and personal histories. Were the portion which had its origin at Peterborough separated from the rest, its local character, with the interwoven forged documents serving local ecclesiastical purposes, would sufficiently stamp it as apocryphal, and not at all worthy to stand side by side with honest history. And if, among other materials, there has been detected a Mercian fragment about Ædelflæd, we gather that this princess had been made the subject of a biographical memoir at a time when her name was still surrounded with a measure of interest and a traditionary knowledge of facts; at a date, in short, not much later than her death. Means exist also to prove that in abbeys the memory of the founder was maintained, and circumstances which could not find their way into the annals of England remained recorded in the monastic registers. The West Saxon details, under date 755, came doubtless from some source more copious about the Wessex royal family than what we now possess. The following extract, hitherto unpublished, from “Ælfric's Life of St. Oswald,” mentions much which is not obtained from Bede, and, as its date is three centuries and a half later than the event, it goes to prove the preservation of documents concerning this king

* Wilkins, “Concil. Mag. Brit.,” tom. i., p. 30. [See *post*, pp. 257, *et seq.*]

† *Ibid.*, p. 311.

quite independent of the Chronicle and of Beda: "It happened that Penda, King of Mercia, made war upon him; the same Penda who supported Cedwalla at the killing of King Oswald's relative Eadwine (see Chron. 633). And Penda knew nothing of Christ, and all the folk of the Mercians was as yet unbaptized. The two came to the battle at Maserfeld, and joined in combat, till the Christians fell, and the heathen approached to the holy Oswald. Then saw he that the end of his life was approaching, and prayed for his people there falling and dying, and committed their souls and himself to God; and as he fell thus, he cried, 'God have mercy on our souls!' Then the heathen king ordered that his head should be struck off, and his right arm, and that they should be set up for a mark (and guarantee of victory). After Oswald's death, Oswig, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom of Northumbria, and with a band rode to the place where his brother's head stood fastened on a stake, and took the head and the right hand, and conveyed them with honour to the church at Lindisfarne." Smith, in his "Beda," p. 112, sufficiently identifies Maserfeld, which is in Lancashire, four miles from Winwick, a place doubtless named from the event, that is, from Winn, a "conflict," and wic, a "dwelling," just as the spot where Penda himself was killed soon afterwards, A.D. 655, was called "Winwidfeld." But it is obvious that Penda would carry the head, his trophy, into the heart of his own dominions, and probably let his Welsh neighbours have a proof of his prowess. No wonder then that he set it up at Oswald's tree, or "stake," now Oswestry, not far whence, says Smith, White Church ("Whitchurch") was founded in the saint's honour. Oswy's ride to this point for the recovery of the head and arm was an exploit worthy of a warrior prince. Any glossary will furnish examples of "tree" used for "stake" or "crux" in the Welsh "Crux Oswaldi." Near the present town of Oswestry, perhaps a mile and a half distant, is a strong ancient camp, which now goes by the name of "Old Oswestry," possibly Penda's headquarters. Beda, observe, III. vi., separates the arm of the saint from the rest of the body. [See Note 28.]

O. COCKAYNE.



Anglo-Saxon Ornaments, Etc.



ANGLO-SAXON ORNAMENTS, ETC.



Anglo-Saxon Fragment.

[1754, p. 282.]

SO few of the Anglo-Saxon monuments, if you accept the manuscripts and coins, have escaped the shipwreck of time, that, with all my best endeavours, I could never procure more than one small remnant of that nation; neither do I find that others have been much more successful. This brass fragment (for it is imperfect) was bought out of a brazier's shop at Canterbury, where coins of the ancient Saxons are often found. The Saxon letters are Ð and Ē. On the obverse indeed you have the Roman E, which appears most frequently on the Anglo-Saxon money in Sir Andrew Fountaine's tables; however, in some of it you have both forms on one coin, as here in this monument (see Sir A. Fountaine, tab. viii. Offa 5. tab. i., Alfred. ii. tab. iii., Cynethryth. 2). And whereas the *C* in *fecit* is round and not angular, as might perhaps be expected, I observe that the Anglo-Saxon coins, especially those of the ecclesiastics, afford the same (see Tab. vi. Eadmund 24, 25, 26, 27. Tab. ix., St. Petri Moneta).

The word *drihten* is that by which the word Dominus, or Lord, as spoken of God, is rendered in the Anglo-Saxon version of the Old and New Testament (see the 20th ch. of Exodus, and the 1st, 2nd, and 4th ch. of St. Matthew concerning the etymology of it). Dr. Hicke's "Epistolary Dissertation to Sir Barth. Shower," p. 156, may be consulted by the curious, where the learned author observes that it is also applied to great men; but there is no reason for understanding it so here, and therefore I rather take this to be a fragment of an inscription of some monument which was once sacred to some religious use, but to what? This remain is so small and imperfect, 'tis absolutely impossible to say.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

Gold Ring.

[1771, p. 43.]

A large antique ring was taken out of the Thames, over against the Tower, the gold whereof was valued at six guineas. It was purchased by a jeweller in St. Martin's Lane, and is judged by the antiquarians to be eight hundred years old.

Ornament.

[1779, pp. 535, 536.]

A friend having a curious piece of antiquity in his possession, I have, at his request, endeavoured to give a kind of draught exactly corresponding with the dimensions of it, in hopes of some illustration through the means of your agreeable miscellany (see the Plate).

It has a quadrangular base, with an ear at each corner, as having been nailed or riveted to the head of something towards the top: the sides are somewhat arched to a point, and are ornamented with a sort of filigree or open work. It is of brass, and hollow all the way up. A little above the base, and on one side only, is a Saxon inscription, which has been pretty accurately copied. This piece of antiquity was found a few years ago in a mass of gravel in digging a cellar near the middle of the town of Pershore in Worcestershire.

As there was a considerable abbey in this town, it is conjectured that it was an ornament on the head of an abbot's, or rather a prior's, staff; and that perhaps a gem was suspended on a string that was passed through a small hole that has been drilled through the head, over the inscription. But, if this was its use, it is remarkable that there does not seem to be any allusion to ecclesiastical history in the ornamental figures.

Y. Z.

[1780, p. 75.]

We are certainly extremely obliged to "Y. Z." for his drawing of that curious Saxon relique, p. 536. However, I cannot concur with him in his idea of its being an ornament on the head of an abbot's, or rather a prior's, staff, since this must have been of the nature of a *pedum*, or crosier, and consequently of a very different form. Besides, the staff in that case must have been exceedingly thick and great, and it may be doubted whether the lesser abbots were entitled to a crosier. The same objection of thickness, again, lies against its being a walking-stick, neither does the pointed top accord with this notion; and I can hardly deem it the cover of a pyx, because of there being four *ears* instead of two to serve for hinges. The use therefore of this ancient ornament must be left in suspense.

Upon what ground your correspondent supposes a string passed through it, to which a gem was suspended, I cannot easily conceive. The words are these: "Perhaps a gem was suspended on a string

that passed through a small hole, that has been drilled through the head, over the inscription." The aperture does not necessarily imply a string, and how the gem gets in is certainly difficult to comprehend; this therefore seems to require some further explanation.

As to the inscription, I read it "Godric me workt"* ("Godricus me fecit"). Godric, now Gooderick, was a common Saxon name, and appears often on the coins; and it was usual in those times not only for the artists to put their names on their performances, in imitation of the ancient Greek statuaries, as "*Ioma ME fecit*,"† but also for the piece, or thing made, to be the speaker; whence we read, on that famous jewel in Dr. Hickes's "Thesaurus," "*Ælfredus me jussit fabricari*;"‡ and again, in the preface, "*Æthredus conjux Heanrade ME celavit*, i.e., *celari jussit*."§

Though it be no easy matter to develop the use of this unconnected ornament at this time of day, yet the public is highly indebted to "Y. Z." for an accurate delineation of so singular a remnant of antiquity, the Saxon monuments being indeed exceedingly rare.

T. ROWE

[1780, p. 128.]

Whatever was the destination of the piece of brass engraved in your Magazine, 1779, p. 536 (for I rather think it was a shrine or part of one), the inscription, as exhibited by your correspondent, is "*Bodric me Workt*," i.e., Bodric made me. "*Workt*" may be an abbreviation for *workte*. It corresponds with the inscription of the famous Bijou, found in the Isle of Athelney, engraved by Hickes (Thesaur. i., p. 40), Dr. Musgrave (Belg. Brit.), and Dr. Gibson (Camden in Somerset), *Alfred caused me to be made*.

No such name as "Bodric" occurs among the abbots of this house, whose foundation, as an abbey, is as early as the close of the fourteenth century, in the reign of Ethelred, King of Mercia (Tann. Not. Mon. 616; Willis's Mit. Ab. ii., 260, 338; Mon. Ang. ii. 203). It is therefore probable that Bodric was either a benefactor, or the artist who executed this piece of filigrane work. [No signature.]

The Ring of Alhstan, Bishop of Sherborne, found at Llysaen, Carnarvonshire.

[1823, Part II., pp. 483, 484.]

I send you sketches of the front and extent of this precious relic of the ornamental taste and magnificence of the ninth century. The ring is now in my possession.

The use of rings is of very remote antiquity. Nuptial rings were worn by the ancient Greeks and Romans, and Tertullian notices the

* Lye.

‡ Hickes, "Thes.," p. 242.

† Sir A. Fountaine, Tab. vi., No. 27.

§ Hickes, "Thes.," Præf., p. xiii.

custom as having been adopted by the early Christians. The episcopal ring is also of very remote origin, forming, indeed, an especial part of the ceremonial of consecration, and used occasionally as seals. Of this description is the one now under notice. It was found about fifty years ago, by a labourer, near to the surface of the ground, on a common at Llys faen. It is of massy gold, weighing nearly an ounce and a quarter. The workmanship is very neat, and the enamelling distinct and perfect. The pattern is alternately a circle and a lozenge; the outer part wrought in an ornamental style. The circular compartments, four in number, bear the epigraph. On the first (in Saxon characters), \mathfrak{A} ; on the second, LH; on the third, ST; on the fourth, \mathfrak{A} ; and the Runic N, like X, forming the word Alhstan.

The lozenges are occupied with different devices; on the first is a rude representation of a dragon, the cognizance of the kingdom of Wessex, and under which Alhstan, Bishop of Sherborne, often led its armies to battle. There were three Bishops of London of this name, and one (the seventh) of Sherborne; but the ring is supposed to have been the property of the latter (who filled the episcopal chair from 817 to 867), being well known as an efficient member of the true Church militant. Dr. Pegge, quoting the Saxon Chronicle, observes, that in 823 (*after his consecration as Bishop*), King Egbert sent his son Ethelwolf, Alhstan his Bishop, and Woolfherd his Alderman—a curious trio—to drive Baldred, King of Kent, across the Thames. On the accession of Ethelwolf to the throne, the Bishop distinguished himself, that is, to use the French phraseology, '*covered himself with glory*,' in many military actions; nor was he less distinguished as a naval hero, for, according to Matthew of Westminster, he, in conjunction with Earl Other, attacked the Danes off Sandwich, put their fleet to the rout, and captured nine of their largest ships. In 828 Egbert visited North Wales, in a hostile manner; and Dr. Pegge argues the probability of Alhstan having had the command of the army, and that this ring was at that period lost. We have no proof, however, that the invaders penetrated so far as Carnarvonshire, in the north-east corner of which the ring was found. Soon after its discovery, another gold ring of much greater weight was picked up near the same place—a situation close to the sea; but its manufacture was extremely coarse when compared with this. In order to account for the superiority of workmanship in this ring, at a time when the Saxons were so barbarous in their manners, the learned Doctor says that Egbert the Great resided in his younger age not less than twelve years at the Court of Charlemagne, and it is not improbable that some artists in the enamelling line might have been brought by him into England from thence.

This ring attracted the particular notice of Dr. Pegge, in 1771; and in 1773 he read a paper respecting its history before the Society

of Antiquaries, on the 2nd of December, which is printed in *Archæologia* iv. 47.

J. H. HANSHALL.

Ancient Weapon.

[1822, *Part II.*, pp. 454, 455.]

A few days ago, as some miners were digging, and forming a puddle or washing-place for lead ore, at the Lead Mine Works, adjoining Oakland (Cilrhew), by Llanrwst, they discovered in the ruins of the earth, two yards deep, a battle axe, in excellent preservation, which is supposed to have been lost and buried there since the great battle, fought near Gwydir House, now the seat of the present Lord Gwydir (which is near to, and adjoining the above place), by the illustrious Cambrian Prince Llywarch Hen, with the Saxons, in the year 610. Gwydir derives its name from *Gwaed-dir*, or, the Bloody Land, in allusion to the above battle fought there at that period. It is conjectured that this curious instrument, in addition to its antiquity, is of a valuable metallic substance. Its weight is twenty-eight ounces, and it is now deposited, for inspection, with Mr. R. Jones, stationer, Ruthin.

Anglo-Saxon Antiquities.

[1858, *Part II.*, p. 65.]

During repairs of the high road leading from Wye to Dover, at the foot of the hill about a mile from Wye, a grave was laid open containing the skeleton of a man, with the umbo of a shield, a sword, a glass drinking-cup, and some smaller objects. The Rev. L. B. Larking lost no time in obtaining the remains for the Kent Archæological Society; and, on their part, he liberally rewarded the finder. Now, however, it is reported the lord of the manor puts in a claim! Very recently the Society of Antiquaries obtained some similar remains from the West of England; and they also were ordered to surrender by a lord of the manor. In both cases the fragile objects were procured solely for scientific purposes; and it is to be hoped that lords of manors will rather aid than obstruct the progress of antiquarian and historical researches.

Anglo-Saxon Jewel, representing St. Neot.

[1826, *Part I.*, pp. 497-499.]

An Anglo-Saxon jewel still exists, supposed to contain a miniature of St. Neot, and to commemorate the veneration in which he was held by King Alfred. It was accidentally found in 1693, at Newton Park, some distance north of the site of Athelney Abbey, in Somersetshire, near the junction of the Parrot and the Thone, the spot to which Alfred retired during the Danish troubles, and where he afterwards founded a monastery. In 1698 it was in the possession of Colonel Nathaniel Palmer, of Fairfield, in Somersetshire; and in 1718

it was deposited by his son, Thomas Palmer, Esq., in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, where it is now preserved.

The form of this jewel (which is correctly* depicted in the lower half of Plate II.) is battle-axe-shaped; its dimensions are, length 2.4 inches, greatest breadth 1.23, thickness .46. The obverse is faced with an oval plate of rock-crystal, $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch thick: through this is seen the miniature, formed of enamelled mosaic, the compartments being let into cells of gold; the figure is that of a man, holding a fleur-de-lys in each hand. The reverse is a detached plate of gold (lying immediately upon the back of the miniature), on which is elegantly traced a fleur-de-lys, branching into three stems. The edge is bevelled towards the front, and contains the legend, ✠ ÆLFRED ME HEHT LEVVRLAN; that is, ✠ ÆLFRED ME ORDERED TO-BE-WROUGHT.—The gem terminates in a grotesque figure, representing, on the obverse, the head of some sea-monster, probably (says Dr. Musgrave) a dolphin; on the reverse, the lower jaw is wanting, its place being supplied by a scaly flat surface: the mouth of this animal embraces a small tube, traversed by a gold pin, apparently a rivet, originally passed through some wooden stem to which it has been fixed, and which has perished.

Various have been the conjectures† with regard to the figure on

* A loose description, by Dr. Musgrave, appeared in 1698, with two figures. ("Philos. Trans.," Dec., 1698, No. 247, vol. xx., p. 441.) It was noticed more at large by Dr. Hickeys in 1700. ("Philos. Trans.," No. 260, vol. xxii., p. 464.) A very detailed but not quite accurate account was given by Dr. Hickeys in 1705, with engravings of the obverse, reverse, and edge; the first figure being from a drawing by Sir Robert Harley. ("Hickeysii Ling. Vett. Septent. Thesaur.," tom. i., pp. viii., 142, 143, Oxon, 1705.) It was described by Hearne, in 1711. (Hearne's "Dissertation on the word 'Æstel,'" pp. xxiv., xxv., prefixed to Leland's "Itinerary," vol. vii., edit. Oxon, 1769.) It again exercised the talents of Dr. Musgrave, in 1715, in a very elegant dissertation, accompanied by three engravings. (Musgravius, "De Icuncula quondam M. Regis Ælfredi," 1715.) The opinions of the two former antiquaries were reviewed by Mr. Wise, in 1722, whose criticism is accompanied with a figure of the obverse only. (Wise, in "Asser de Reb. Gest. Ælfredi," App., pp. 172, 172, Oxon, 1722.) Some criticisms by Dr. Pegge and by Dr. Mills appeared in 1765. ("Archæologia," vol. ii., pp. 73, 79.) Engravings of this gem may be seen in Wotton, "Ling. Vett. Septent. Thesaur. Conspectus," p. 18, edit. 1708; Skelton's Translation of Wotton, with notes, p. 14, edit. 1735; Marmora Oxon, P. III., fig. 137, edit. Chandler, 1763; Camden's "Brit.," vol. i., p. 77, edit. Gibson, 1722; and vol. i., p. 59, edit. Gough, 1789. All these figures of this gem seem to be copied from Hickeys's plate, with little variation; they are much too large and distorted representations.

† Hickeys, at first, suggested that it was a figure of our *Saviour*, the lily-sceptre in each hand denoting His double reign, in heaven and in earth: Musgrave ultimately adopted the same opinion. Hickeys thought it, however, not improbable that it might be intended for the *Pope*; but, at last, he concluded that it represents some *Saint*; he was led to this opinion from the inspection of a miniature of St. Luke, in an ancient MS. of the Gospels, drawn in a nearly similar manner, holding a flowery cross in each hand. ("Ling., Vett. Septent. Thesaur.," tom. i., p. 8, fig. 5.) Wise conceived that it depicted *King Alfred* himself, on account of the helmet and military vest, in which (as he supposed) the figure is represented.

the obverse. The conclusion to which Dr. Hickes ultimately came, is the most plausible—that it was designed to represent some saint. The individual intended, it would be impossible to determine from the inspection of the figure alone; but that it was St. Neot* can scarcely admit of a reasonable doubt, since history informs us that he was the relative, and the spiritual counsellor of the King, and that he was venerated by Alfred above all other† saints.

As to the use to which this piece of jewelry was appropriated, opinion has been divided. Dr. Hickes, Dr. Musgrave, and the late Mr. Whitaker, imagined that it was worn by a chain round the neck of the King. Mr. Hearne thought it probable that it was attached to the end of a cylinder, upon which a MS. was rolled, presented by the King to some monastery. Mr. Wise and Dr. Pegge conceived that it formed the head of a style.‡ Possibly it was mounted upon a standard (after the manner of the Roman eagle), or was elevated upon the summit of a staff, being carried into battle, for the purpose of animating the soldiers. This conjecture is hazarded as affording an easy solution of the fabulous narratives, which state that St. Neot, after his decease, was the constant “attendant” and “fore-runner” of Alfred; that he “accompanied” the King in his engagement with the Danes near Chippenham, “led on the troops,” “preceded the standards,” “fought in splendour before the army,” and “gained the victory” for the Saxons. If we make some little allowance for the turgid expressions§ of monkish chronicles (superstitiously referring

* Obvious as this conclusion is, Mr. Whitaker was the first to notice it. (Whitaker’s “Life of St. Neot,” p. 273, edit. 1806.) Dr. Hickes conjectured that the holy man intended was St. Cuthbert, who is said by William of Malmesbury (“De Gest. Reg.,” lib. ii., cap. 4, in Saville, “Angl. Script.,” p. 43), to have appeared to Alfred in his seclusion in the marshes of Athelney. Malmesbury, however, is the *only* historian who mentions St. Cuthbert with relation to this incident; *all* the other Chronicles which refer to it agreeing that it was St. Neot, who was seen by Alfred in his sleep, both at Athelney and on other occasions. (See Saxon Homily on St. Neot, MSS. Cott. Vesp. D. XIV. in “Hist. St. Neot’s,” pp. 260, ci.; Asserius, “De Reb. Gest. Ælfr.,” in an. 878; “Vita S’ci Neoti,” MSS., Bodl. 535, in Whitaker’s “Life of Neot;” “Vita S’ci Neoti,” MSS., Cott. Claud. A.V. in Mabillon, Acta Sanct., sec. iv., P. II., p. 334; “Chronicle of the Conventual Libr. St. Neot’s,” MSS. Trin. Coll., Camb., R. vii., 28, in Gale Script. XX., tom. i., p. 167.) There is not, therefore, a shadow of reason for supposing that the Northumbrian Bishop was the individual designed in the jewel; while many considerations point out the Cornish abbot as having been thus superstitiously honoured.

† “Rex Alfredus, Sanctorum pedibus acclivis et subditis, S. Neotum in *summa* veneratione habebat.” Ingulphi, “Hist. Croyl.” (Fulman, Script., p. 27).

‡ King Alfred sent a copy of his translation of St. Gregory’s Pastoral, *together with an ÆSTLE*, to each Cathedral. (See Alfred’s Preface to St. Greg. Past. in Spelman, “Vita Ælfredi,” p. 197.)

§ The following are the expressions in which these fables are recorded: “*IC þe toþopen þane.*” (Sax. Hom. on St. Neot MSS., Cott. Vesp. D. XIV. in “Hist. St. Neot’s,” p. 260.) “*Teque tuosque ducam.*” “*Prædux semper extiti tuus.*” “*Nonne videtis, Coram splendiferum nobis bellare Neotum?*”

ordinary occurrences to the miraculous agency of the Saint whose merits it was their object to extol), these fables may be naturally traced to the simple fact that the King was accustomed to have this image of his guardian saint near his person, and that he conducted his army under its supposed tutelary influence. An inspection of the figure, holding the flowering branches in his hands, almost realizes the singular expression of the monkish historians, "*Neotus palmificus*;" while the supposition that this image was elevated on a military banner affords an easy interpretation to the apparently hyperbolic terms (as applied to a *deceased* saint), "*Neotus signifer et prævius Regis antecedeat exercitum*."

Mr. Whitaker* supposes (very plausibly) that after the victory of Chippenham, King Alfred presented this jewel to the Monastery of Athelney, in testimony of his pious gratitude to St. Neot; "there, probably, it remained till the Reformation; thence it was taken for plunder, or for preservation; and, in its removal, was accidentally lost, not far from its old depository."

As these particulars have come to my knowledge since the publication of the Supplement to my "History of St. Neot's," I have printed a few *additional leaves*, with the engravings, for insertion in that work, for the accommodation of those who may be already in possession of it.

Yours, etc. G. C. GORHAM.

Ancient Bone Implement.

[1866, *Part I.*, pp. 541, 542.]

The interesting bone implement, or whatever else it may prove to be, which I had the honour to exhibit in December last to the British Archæological Association, was the means of bringing together a very large collection of similarly worked bones on the evening of January 10th of this year, principally from the collections of the Rev. W. S. Simpson, Mr. Josiah Cato, and Mr. Syer Cuming; but I regret to observe, that although this exhibition of curiously cut bones created great and general interest in the members present, it not only failed to produce anything like a thoughtful suggestion of the use to which

"*Palmificus sive Neotus*." ("Vita S'c'i Neoti," MSS. Bodl. 535, in Whitaker's "St. Neot.") "*Me (sc. Neoto) prævio gaudebis et protectore*." "*In itinere tuus extiti ductor*." "*Ego ante vos ibo, in conspectu meo cadent inimici*." "*Gloriosus servus Christi Neotus, signifer et prævius, Regis antecedeat exercitum; quem videns Rex Alvedus, Commilitones, inquit, nonne videtis eum qui nostros conterit hostes? si nôsse desideratis, ipse est proculdubio Neotus, Christi miles invictissimus, per quem hodie præseb est in manibus nostris palma victoria!*" ("Vita S'c'i Neoti," MSS. Cott. Claud. A.V. in Mabillon, *Acta Sanct.*, sec. iv., P. II., pp. 334, 335.) "*Præcedam ante vexilla tua*." ("Chronicle of the Conventual Libr. of St. Neot's," MSS. Trin. Coll., Camb., R. VII., 28, in Gale, *Script. XX.*, tom. i., p. 167.)

* Whitaker's "Life of St. Neot," p. 273, edit. 1806.

these bones were applied, but it has not brought forward since any observations or remarks from country or other correspondents in reference thereto.

As the *Times* and other papers noticed the subject of the evening's discussion, I am the more struck with this apparent apathy or neglect of a subject in every way worthy the attention of the antiquary and the ethnologist; and I have therefore thought it might be as well to bring the matter into your time-honoured columns, feeling assured that, once there, it will run the chance of opening up the opinions of perhaps other collectors, upon the origin and uses of these interesting relics, and thus serve the purpose I have in view, of elucidating and explaining that which at present seems indeed to be anything but a "bone of dissension."

Of the antiquity of my specimen there can be no doubt, Professor Owen having pronounced it to be about the period of the Norman Conquest, and described it as the "lower end of metatarsal or hind cannon-bone of a deer." The other specimens, for the most part, are of an equally great age, and had been found in London at great depths below the surface in digging out earth for the foundations of houses or formation of sewers. The principal places, according to the Rev. W. S. Simpson, where his collection had come from, were the Tower Hill, Tokenhouse Yard, and Blackfriars: my specimen, of which a drawing has been kindly made by Mr. Henry H. Burnell, F.S.A., for this paper, was found in earth brought from the site of the present St. Katherine's Docks, which helped to form the present Bridge Road at Barnes, Surrey, and where it was found on excavating for a watercourse, some years ago, with several Roman coins, and given to me as a curiosity by my late lamented friend, Mr. Edmund Pemell, a promising and clever civil engineer cut off in the prime of life.

It is well known that on the site of the present docks stood the Hospital of St. Katherine, founded by Queen Matilda, wife to Stephen, and transferred now to the Regent's Park, where its richly endowed houses and chapel are prominent architectural features: the finding such an object within the foundations of the early building may fairly be taken as an evidence that its use was known to the inhabitants of the college, and may help to point out that such cut bones, if any have been discovered on the sites of other ancient establishments, may have been used for culinary purposes, an idea that I am inclined to think more likely than any other suggestion I have hitherto heard made. Still, whatever the use, it indicates a very low state of art; for a more unfinished looking article, for whatever purpose, than the cut bone in question, can hardly be conceived. As a description of the bones generally is given at p. 213 of the February number of your excellent magazine for the present year, I will not trouble you with a recapitulation of it, merely suggesting that the readers who are interested in the discovery of the exact nature of the

uses of these objects will be kind enough to refer to the article in question, and they will gain, with the engraving herewith given, some general notion, at all events, of these oddly and roughly contrived implements.

For the more scientific investigator, I will ask your permission to print the following description of the bone which has given rise to this letter, and for which I have to thank my friend, Mr. John Brighthouse, M.R.C.S., and a member of the Archæological Association. He says :

“ It is a portion of a deer’s metatarsal bone ; in the shaft of the bone is seen a bony septum, which shows the commencement of the spongy portion or articular end of this bone. The length of the bone is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; it is an inch and six-tenths wide near the joint, and an inch wide in the shaft. A portion of the shaft of the bone, an inch and a quarter long and half an inch in width, is not cut away with remainder of the shaft : the marks of the saw are plainly seen on its sides and end ; they are also seen very distinctly on all parts of the bone around the marrow canal. Along one surface of the bone is seen a deep groove, in which lodged a tendon ; near the joint is seen a small opening into the bone, which was a passage for an artery to supply the spongy bone with blood : the epiphyses are both chipped off with a chisel or hatchet, the marks of which are plainly visible. The bone is evidently of great age, and the spongy portion appears to have lost a great deal of its gelatine.”

With one remark I will now conclude my long letter, and it is to state that in all the examples exhibited, numbering nearly one hundred, this peculiarity of the chipping off very roughly the epiphyses, or swelling sides of the joint end of the bone, existed ; and this cutting off seems to my mind to be for the purpose of packing the bones more closely together when put away, rather than to help the holder, as some have supposed, in his grasp of the implement, when in the act of using it.

I am, etc. GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.



Late Anglo-Saxon Antiquities.



LATE ANGLO-SAXON ANTIQUITIES.



Cross Cut in the Chalk.

[1827, *Part II.*, p. 79.]

ON the Bledlow Hills is to be traced the figure of a cross cut in the chalk, but which, from its having been neglected many years, is now nearly obliterated by the grass and weeds growing on it. A gentleman, who visited it a few days ago, and who is somewhat of an antiquary, had the curiosity to measure its dimensions, and to examine it very narrowly. He supposes it to have been made by the Saxons about the time the Whiteleaf Cross (from which it is not very distant) was formed; the mode of working seems to have been by digging squares of 6 feet, of which there are five, both in the perpendicular and the transverse lines, making a cross of 30 feet long in both lines, and of the width of 6 feet. The Whiteleaf Cross, near Princes Risborough, has a perpendicular line of 100 feet, and a transverse one of 70; the breadth of the perpendicular line at the bottom is about 50 feet, but it grows gradually narrower, and at the top it is not more than 20.

Saxon Arch at Leicester.

[1792, *Part II.*, p. 1049.]

Leicester, Nov. 7.—In removing the walls and rubbish of the old town gaol (which originally was a part of, and lately joined, St. John's Hospital) a discovery was made of some mutilated arches of stone, of high antiquity, by the simplicity of their formation. These fragments ran in a line, parallel with each other, due east from the street, which, with a fine Saxon arch at the west end, doubtless once formed the nave of a small church. It was visible also that it had originally one, if not two, side aisles. The beautiful arch, at the west end, has been long obscured by the wall which bounds the street: it spanned the passage which led into the hospital, and appeared of an age with that pure Saxon remains, St. Mary's chancel.

Buckingham Castle.[1821, *Part II.*, p. 464.]

The *Buckinghamshire Chronicle* says : "As some workmen were lately employed in digging a cellar on the slope of the Church Hill, Buckingham, they discovered a part of the foundations of the old Castle, which formerly existed there, and which was built, according to the Saxon Chronicle, by Edward the Elder, in the year 918. The wall itself was of very considerable thickness, and was composed of unhewn stones of the cornbrache limestone kind, which still abounds in the neighbourhood. So far back as 1670 we find that no traces of the Castle remained, as it was then made a bowling-green, which appears to have been much frequented by the gentlemen of the county."

Pavement at Hereford.[1828, *Part I.*, p. 358.]

As some men were lately employed in sinking a cellar on Mr. Huxley's premises, the south side of Eign Street, Hereford, about 9 feet from the surface of the earth, they found a tessellated pavement. The square bricks of which it was composed are many of them ornamented with different devices ; many of them have green and black vitrified surfaces, and a portion have the arms of our early Saxon kings, and other arms of ancient families, on them, nearly as fresh as when from the kiln. Amongst others are the arms of Egbert and Ethelbert, a *crosse formé* or ; of Edward the Elder, a *crosse formé* between four martlets or. The pavement, it has been ascertained, extends full 45 feet in length from south to north, but the breadth cannot be estimated. It appears to run to the westward from the spot where the earth has been dug ; and down to the tesserae it is all what is termed "made ground." The pavement must doubtless have belonged to a building of some importance, though no record exists that can lead to a correct conclusion on the subject.

Churches in the Domesday Survey.[1843, *Part I.*, pp. 485-489.]

On noticing the number of churches in the Domesday Survey, and the proportion assigned to each county, I was most forcibly struck with the frequency with which they are mentioned in some portions of the kingdom, and their entire omission in others. It is true the precept which directed the formation of the Domesday Survey laid no injunction on the jurors to make a return of churches, and the mention of them, if at all made, was of course likely to be irregular. Yet it is singular that, while in the return for Cambridgeshire one only is mentioned, and none in Lancashire, Cornwall, or even Middlesex, the seat of the metropolis, so many are enumerated in other

more obscure and, at that time, almost unknown parts of the kingdom. I was led to this remark more immediately by finding that in one wapentake of the West Riding of Yorkshire, the wapentake of Skyrack, no less than thirty places are mentioned, wherein a return of a church, or of a church and priest, is made. It appears, therefore, that in Saxon times Christianity must have been extensively diffused throughout this part of the West Riding, and, as all mention of chapels is excluded from the Domesday Survey, it seems probable that at that era, and long before the Norman power was established in Britain, the number of churches and chapels conjointly was probably greater in proportion to the population than it actually is at the present day. It were a bootless task even to indulge a conjecture on the origin of these Saxon churches, which were built in a dark age, and of which their pious founders have left us no memorial. But it is evident that the whole number of churches recorded in the Norman Survey forms but a small proportion of those that existed before the Conquest. Indeed, the whole number noticed in the Survey, for the entire kingdom, amounts to a few more than 1,700, a return notoriously incorrect had it been an object of the Survey to ascertain the number of churches throughout the kingdom. It is more than probable, therefore, that in this and in some other parts of the kingdom, the number of *small edifices* dedicated to divine worship was far more considerable than has hitherto been supposed. Indeed, Sherburne, in the wapentake of Barkstonash, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, was the residence of the Saxon Archbishops of York, who had a palace here, bestowed upon the see of York by Athelstan, with a considerable part of the town, and during the residence of so many metropolitans there, in the Saxon times, it is to be presumed that many, both churches and chapels, were erected in this part of Yorkshire, of which no record was preserved.

The church at Sherburne was a Saxon church, and, as far as can be ascertained in point of architecture, it is purely Saxon, and believed to be the work of some one of the first archbishops who became possessed of the place. The nave is magnificent, the columns massy, yet tall and graceful. This, be it remembered, was a Saxon metropolitan church; but, besides this edifice, there was a *detached* chapel, as appears by the ruins, from which was formerly dug up the head of a very rich and elegant cross. It may have been the site of the primitive church, or one of the *æcclesiolæ* or *capellæ* of the Survey, which are sometimes *incidentally* mentioned as subordinate to the *ecclesiæ*. "*Ibi æcclesia et alia capella*" is sometimes part of the description of places in Domesday. But the greater part of the Saxon churches were of a meaner structure, and all the earliest specimens of Saxon churches, it is supposed, were constructed of timber. The first cathedral at York was a wooden structure. But there is little doubt that the use of stone was introduced in the con-

struction of the later Saxon churches ; otherwise we should have found more instances *than one* in Domesday of a church built of wood. The only example of a church so constructed, to be met with in Domesday, is Begeland, in Yorkshire. "Ibi presbiter et ecclesia lignea." [See Note 29.]

We learn from William of Malmesbury that in the year 1017 the Danish king, Canute, who became also King of England, gave sufficient evidence of his zeal in the cause of Christianity, not merely by repairing the monasteries that had been destroyed by his Pagan countrymen, the Danes, in the late wars, but by *building and endowing churches*. His first system of ecclesiastical laws contains twenty-six canons, of which the four first enlarge and secure the protection of the church, or its rights of sanctuary. But the third of these canons, which divides churches into four classes, sufficiently demonstrates that in his time these sacred edifices must have amounted to a large number. The mulct for violating the protection of a cathedral was five pounds, of a middling church one hundred and twenty shillings, of a lesser church, that hath a burying place, sixty shillings, of a country church, without a burying place, thirty shillings ; and I cannot resist noticing the following law as showing that, even in the eleventh century, idolatry still prevailed in this island. "We strictly prohibit all heathenism, that is, the worship of idols or heathen gods, the sun, moon, fire, rivers, fountains, rocks, or trees of any kind ; the practice of witchcraft, or committing murder by magic, or firebrands, or any other infernal tricks." In the reign of Edward the Confessor, so often alluded to in Domesday, there must have been a great increase of what were strictly denominated parish churches, it being asserted in one of the laws ascribed to that king, that in many places there were three or four churches, where in former times there was but one.

But without expatiating on the ecclesiastical state of the kingdom at large, I wish more immediately to invite the attention of your readers in general, but especially of such Yorkshire antiquaries as I know are in the habit of perusing your time-honoured periodical, to this singular circumstance, that in one wapentake (Skyrack) there *should be thirty places* recorded, in which mention is made of a church. I will take only such places in that wapentake having a church at the period of Domesday, as belonged to Ilbert de Laci, and to those of your readers who may not have access to the volume itself, the list subjoined may not be unacceptable :

Aceurde	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Badesuurde	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Barnebi	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Burtone	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Cherca	.	.	.	.	pb'r eccl'ia
Cherchebi	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r

Chipesch	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Cipetun	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Coletun	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia
Darnintone	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia
Erneshale	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Ferestane	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Fristone	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Gereford	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Ledes	.	.	.	.	pb'r eccl'ia
Ledestune	.	.	.	.	pb'r eccl'ia
Queldale	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Rie	.	.	.	.	pb'r eccl'ia
Saxtun	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia
Smedetune	.	.	.	.	pb'r eccl'ia
Suillictun	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia
Tateshalle	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Wilmeresleia	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r

In addition to the above named places (the property of the great Norman lord, Ilbert de Lacy), there were the following places in the same wapentake, which, in the "Domesday Survey," are recorded as having churches :

Bodetone	.	.	.	.	pb'r eccl'ia
Bradeuuelle	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Coningesburg	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Hedfeld	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Illicleia	.	.	.	.	pb'r eccl'ia
Sandale	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia pb'r
Torp	.	.	.	.	eccl'ia

of which the first and fifth belonged to William de Perci, the second, third, and sixth, to William de Warenne, and the fourth and last to Robert Malet. It appears, therefore, that out of about thirty churches in this wapentake, twenty-three formed part of the Lacy fee, though it must be borne in mind that the advowson of the living did not always follow the manor. It is remarkable that of the two great houses which for generations held the sway over so great a part of the West Riding of Yorkshire—viz., the Warren and Lacy families, the former should, at the period of Domesday, hold but three places with churches, while the Lacy family held twenty-eight places with churches attached to them, and it is still more remarkable that of these twenty-eight churches, twenty-three should be in the Skyrack wapentake.

In the parish of Batley, in the Morley wapentake, there was a church and presbyter in the time of Domesday, and the two Saxon lords, Dunstan and Stainulf, were disseized of their possessions here, in order to make way for Ilbert de Lacy. In Morley also there was a church ; and the same Dunstan was here also superseded by Ilbert de Lacy.*

* The author of the "History of Morley" has mistaken the sense of Domesday, by erroneously interpreting the passage "Ilb't' h't" "Ilbertus habuit," instead of "habet."

It seems by another passage in Domesday relating to Morley, under the head of "Claims of the West Riding," that "according to the verdict of the men of Morelege (Morley) wapentake, concerning the church of St. Mary, which is in Morley wood, the king has a moiety of the three festivals of St. Mary's, which belongs to Wakefield. Ilbert and the priests who serve the church have all the rest." The family of Ilbert de Lacy was of Norman origin, and he himself came in the train of the Conqueror. To this family this district owes the foundation of most of its ancient churches. We read of them, too, as being the founders of three several religious houses at Nostel, Pontefract, and Kirkstall.

Dr. Whitaker supposes that the church at Wakefield, at the time of Domesday, was not one of the original Saxon churches, of which, in the hundred of Morley, there were only two, namely, Morley itself, the hundred church, and Dewsbury. I shall not, in the present paper, undertake to combat this opinion, as it would occupy too much of your pages; but it cannot admit of a doubt that a division of offerings was not unfrequently resorted to in the later Saxon times, at the foundation of new parishes. If a Thane erected on his own bocland (*i.e.*, freehold or charter land) a church, having a cemetery or place of burial, he was allowed to subtract one-third part of his tithes from the mother church, and bestow them upon his own clerk.

It seems from this ecclesiastical ordinance (and, indeed, it is so recorded) that many country churches were built in such situations as appeared to their pious founders to stand most in need of them, of a more humble description, and without the appendage of a burying ground. It is probable that to many of the manor-houses of the Saxon lords an oratory was attached, and afterwards accommodation found for the vassals and dependents of such lords. As population increased, a church of a larger size was built; though this, perhaps, in the first instance, was no more than a single nave and a choir, and the officiating presbyter supported chiefly by the liberality of the lord of the manor. How many of these ecclesiæ or capella were in existence in the Saxon times will probably never be ascertained; but the very names of many places mentioned in Domesday, without any mention of any church in that venerable record, sufficiently show that, either at that or some former period, places of worship did there exist. There are five places of the name of Cherchebi mentioned in Domesday in the county of York, to not one of which is there any church assigned at the time of the conquest. There are also in this county ten places of the name of Chirchebi enumerated in Domesday, which have no mention either of ecclesia or parochia attached to them; of this number eight are in the West Riding. Can it be doubted that these names point out to the existence of a church or chapel at some period? One would expect in a place called Santa-

cherche, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, that a church would be included in the Domesday description ; but there is not any allusion to it. At Whitkirk, in this riding, where we know that a church did exist not long after the Conquest, yet it is not mentioned in Domesday.

The discovery of a Saxon wheel cross among the Roman remains of Burghdurum, near Adel, in the West Riding, also plainly indicates the existence of a place of Christian worship there in the Saxon period ; yet, though Adel is mentioned as well as Burhdurum in Domesday, *no church* is recorded as in existence at that time. We must not, therefore, conclude, because we find an omission of a place of worship in a survey designed for other purposes than that of recording the number of ecclesiastical edifices, that none such ever existed. I might also mention the various towns in Domesday named Prestone, or Preste-tune, without any church.

There was a capella at Hertshead in the West Riding, known to have existed at the time when the living of Dewsbury was granted by the second Earl Warren to the priory of Lewes, about the year 1120. The absence of all mention of such chapel in the Domesday account of the place is no proof of the non-existence of such chapel before the time of Domesday. The base of a genuine Saxon cross, still in existence at that place, affords presumptive evidence that Christianity had shed its light here in Saxon times, and subsequently led to the erection of a chapel. The marks of crosses on some tiles found in the ruins of the Roman towns would seem to warrant a suspicion that in some instances such chapels existed before the final evacuation of this island by the Roman armies. In the various excavations that have at sundry times been made on the site of the ancient Cambodunum in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, tiles have been thrown up that had very distinct impressions of the cross on their surface, perhaps only a single cruciform figure, entirely disconnected from all other figures, and such as could not have been impressed for the sake of ornament. They were dug up not far from some others bearing this inscription, COH IIII BRE. Now it appears that at the period when this latter inscription was made, the Christian religion had extended itself through most, if not all, the Roman settlements ; and it appears to me no improbable supposition that, on the site of this Roman town, the first Christian edifice, how mean soever it might be, was planted in this part of Yorkshire. The progress of the Roman arms, though without any intention of theirs, was made the instrument, under Providence, of promoting the progress of the Gospel, by opening a freer and less interrupted intercourse over the whole country. The arrival of the Saxons in Britain, being all heathens, led to the temporary overthrow of most, if not all, the British churches. At length, however, these Pagan invaders were themselves converted, and they, in their turn, became church builders.

The number of these Saxon churches, at the period of the Norman conquest, was much greater than is generally supposed ; and when we find that in one wapentake alone (Skyrack) thirty such churches are recorded in Domesday, we may draw some inference what the number must have been in other more populous and more civilized districts.

Yours, etc.

J. K. WALKER, M.D.

On the Number of Anglo-Saxon Churches.

1844, *Part I.*, pp. 585-591.]

In a former paper I was anxious to show, from the evidence of the Domesday Survey, that at the date of that venerable document the number of places of worship, by whatever name they were designated, whether churches or chapels or oratories, was far greater than the examination of the returns of the Inquisitors would lead us to believe. I was led to this conclusion from observing the very great number of places that are to be found in Domesday, in different counties, which have the syllable *chirche*, *chirce*, *circe*, *cherche*, etc., prefixed, yet have no mention of the existence of any church in the Survey. With respect to many of these, it is more than probable that they were destroyed by the ravages of the Danish invaders, who, being pagans as well as savages, spared neither church nor cloister. But it could not be the case with all ; for in the days of King Canute, not many years before the date of Domesday, many new churches were built, and so great was his zeal in the cause of Christianity, that he framed a system of ecclesiastical laws containing twenty-six canons, of which the first four enlarge and secure the protection of the Church. At the period of the landing of the Duke of Normandy, the number of new erections dedicated to Divine worship had prodigiously increased, and the numbers both of the secular and regular clergy had increased, and their possessions still more. But, according to the Saxon laws, churches were ranged into three orders :

1st. The *ealdan mynstre*, or mother church.

2nd. The church having a *legerstowe*, or place of burial.

3rd. The *feld cyric*, field kirk, or chapel without a cemetery.

In the "*Leges Eadgari*," par. 2, the word "*ealdan*" mynstre appears *sometimes* to mean the cathedral church ; but more generally applies to those churches of ancient erection to which *tithes* were due, such as occur in several parts of the Domesday Survey. But, besides these, there were in the infancy of Christianity in this island structures of a smaller kind, sufficient, perhaps, for the early converts, in the then thinly populated state of the country. We know that this was actually the case from the authority of the venerable Bede, who wrote in the early part of the eighth century, and who, after informing us that Paulinus was diligently employed, under the auspices of Edwyn, in preaching and baptizing throughout the provinces of

Deira and Bernicia, and that he usually resorted to the banks of rivers for the convenience of baptizing, proceeds to say, "Nondum enim oratoria vel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiæ poterant ædificari; attamen in Campodono, ubi tunc villa regia erat, fecit basilicam" (ii. 14). From this passage we learn that, about the year 625, Paulinus established a basilica in Campodono, which, except the church of York, was the only place of worship in the Northumbrian kingdom in his day; but, at the time Bede wrote his history, more than a century had elapsed since Paulinus preached, and during that time both oratories, and churches, and chapels had increased. Paulinus,* it is true, after the fall of the great King Edwin, was obliged to abandon his flock, but shortly afterwards a successor of no less piety and learning was raised up in the person of Aidan, who was appointed Bishop of Lindisfarne or Holy Island. By the labours of Aidan and many other pious missionaries, the Northumbrians were soon recalled from their apostasy, and, unless many other oratories and baptisteries had been founded since the time of Paulinus, where would have been the propriety of the expression *not as yet* (nondum) were they able† to erect oratories and baptisteries. But during the three succeeding centuries, and especially from the beginning of the tenth to the middle of the eleventh century, vast sums were raised for the erection of cathedrals, monasteries, and churches in all parts of England, so that we are told by one writer that, at the death of Edward the Confessor, a third of the lands of England were devoted to religious purposes, and, as such, exempted from all taxes, and for the most part even from military services.‡ Sir Henry Spelman, though well acquainted with the Domesday Survey, seems to have adopted the authority of Sprott, who lived about 1274, and who, speaking of William the Conqueror, says, "Fecit etiam totam Angliam describi, quantum terræ quis baronum possedit et quot feodatos et milites, quot carucatos et villanos, quotque ecclesiarum dignitates. Et repertum fuit primo de summâ Ecclesiarum XLV. M. XI." So that here we have two authorities, one that of Sprott's Chronicle, which asserts that at the time of the formation of the Domesday Survey there were found to be no less than *forty-five thousand and eleven parish churches within the kingdom*,

* In a former paper I enumerated the churches in the wapentakes of Agbrigg and Morley, included in the Domesday Survey. The church of Dewsbury is one of these, and is regarded as the parent of most of the early churches afterwards erected. The following inscription is placed on a cross, which at present stands at the east end of the chancel, on the outside of the church: "Paulinus hic prædicavit et celebravit, A. D. 627." This is, however, not the identical Saxon wheel cross, but a facsimile of it, made, probably, from Camden's traditional copy. It is probable that basilicæ or oratories and small wood-built structures were erected by Paulinus in some places, and crosses only in others. The site of these crosses, however, was afterwards chosen for the erection of churches.

† Literally, "could not be erected as yet in the infancy of the Church," etc.

‡ Spelman, "Gloss.," p. 396.

while the whole number actually noticed in the Survey itself amounts to a few more than 1700. Possibly Sprott's account may be very erroneous, and the number of churches given in his Chronicle far too great; but the Domesday Survey is certainly not to be considered as in all respects a correct record of the whole number of churches existing about the time of the Conquest. This, indeed, is the opinion of Sir Henry Ellis, who, in his general introduction to Domesday, states, "that unexceptionable evidence has been adduced of the existence of one church in Kent, and of several others in Northamptonshire, which certainly are not noticed in the Survey; and in Oxfordshire no notice whatever is taken of the church of Dorchester, although the seat of a bishoprick had been removed from it but a short time before the taking of the Survey." That there must have been a very great increase of churches in the reign of Edward the Confessor, is evident from one of the laws ascribed to that king, wherein it is asserted that in many places there were three or four churches, where, in former times, there was but one. I have already mentioned that, at the death of the Confessor, a large proportion of the wealth of England was devoted to ecclesiastical purposes.* This was well known to the Norman Conqueror, and soon after he was seated in the throne of England he seems to have formed the design of depriving the most eminent of the English clergy of their emoluments and dignities in the Church, and of conferring them on his countrymen, or upon persons on whose loyalty he could depend. It seemed a matter of small consequence to him what number of churches there were in England, unless it could be shown that some substantial endowment was annexed. The man that could, as is commonly reported, destroy thirty-six churches, in order to enlarge the New Forest in Hampshire, has not much claim to our respect as a benefactor to the Church. It was the landed property of the clergy upon which his eyes were fixed, and this is the reason that all those churches and other religious edifices, to which no glebe of any quantity was attached, are either entirely omitted, or at all events mentioned *incidentally*, or for some object that might seem of consequence at the time of the entry. It

* We are told, moreover, that at this period prodigious sums were expended in the purchase of relics, that the roads between England and Rome were so crowded with pilgrims, that the very tolls they paid were objects of importance to the princes through whose territories they passed; and very few Englishmen imagined they could get to heaven without paying this compliment to St. Peter, who kept the keys of the celestial regions. The Pope and Roman clergy carried on a very lucrative traffic in relics, of which they never wanted inexhaustible stores—kings, princes, and wealthy prelates purchased pieces of the cross, or whole legs and arms of apostles; while others were obliged to be contented with the toes and fingers of inferior saints. Agelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, when he was at Rome, A.D. 1021, purchased from the Pope an arm of St. Augustin for one hundred talents, or six thousand pounds' weight of silver, and one talent, or sixty pounds' weight of gold. *Vide* Henry, "Hist. of Britain," vol. iii., p. 296.

is clear then that we can draw no conclusion from Domesday of the number of parish churches, still less of the chapels and oratories, and other religious endowments that we read of in the Saxon times.

At the end of the enumeration of the lands of Tovi, in Norfolk, Domesday, tom. ii, fol. 265, it is said, "Om's eccl'e s't in p'tio c' maneriis," yet we do not find that one of all these churches is separately entered.

We find often enough the words, "Ibi æcclesia ꝓ Presbyter," but seldom without some endowment, sometimes in land, as *e.g.* a certain number of hides or carucates, with so many villani, etc., so that the first object appears to be a return of the landed property and its appendages, not the number of the churches, except when connected with the land. There are exceptions, I admit, but not such as to invalidate the general rule. In some counties, indeed, as Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, and some few others, if the account in Domesday is to be relied upon, there were scarcely any parish churches. In Dorsetshire the number is not great. The same may be said of some other counties; but is it to be believed that no places of worship existed in these parts? Is it probable that the Anglo-Saxons, who, to their honour be it spoken, sent missionaries abroad to spread the consolations of Christianity among their Continental ancestors and the neighbouring nations, would make no spiritual provision for its introduction at home? There is reason to believe that in those very counties where there is hardly any notice of a church in Domesday, such places of worship did exist in times anterior to the Saxon invasion; for we have accounts of tombs and shrines of British saints, which show the existence of Christian places of worship, when those countries were occupied by the ancient Britons. Camden tells us, that near Leskerd was a church formally called S. Guevir (which in British signifies a physician); where, as Asser tells us, King Alfred, while he was in the midst of his devotions, recovered of a fit of sickness. Other instances of a similar kind are mentioned by Camden, tending to show that Christianity flourished in very early times in these very counties, which, according to Domesday, have scarcely *any church at all*. In short, this part of the kingdom was famous for its veneration of Irish saints, as well as their own, insomuch that between both there was hardly a town but was consecrated to some one of them. The little village of St. Buriens was formerly called "Eglis Buriens," *i.e.* church of Buriand, a certain Irish saint; and it is afterwards stated that King Athelstan built a church here, and, unless it was afterwards destroyed by the Danes, it seems improbable that it should not be in existence in the Conqueror's time.

In the Lansdowne MSS. there is a charter of liberties conferred by Athelstan to the *church* and town of Beverley. I find no mention in Domesday of any such church, which (if this charter is genuine)

must, one would think, have been standing at the period of the Survey. If this charter is to be relied upon, Athelstan further endowed the church with sac and soc and thol and them, and granted a perpetual college of secular canons, consisting of seven priests, to celebrate masses and perform the rites of divine service in the church; and Dugdale tells us that the right of sanctuary was then first vested in the church of St. John by the pious munificence of Athelstan, and a fridstol,* or chair of peace, was placed near the altar, as an emblem of protection to the refugee.

If I do not greatly mistake, the task would be no very difficult one to discover many more such instances of omission of churches in Domesday, some perhaps from carelessness, others designedly, either from the motive I have already stated, or to answer some general scheme of policy, which the critical position of the Conqueror might render expedient. Had either one or the other of the two words *Ecclesia* or *Presbyter* been annexed to the name of the towns I have alluded to, we might have regarded it as sufficient evidence of a then existing church, for it is possible that the officers of the Exchequer, who abridged the returns, might consider the single entry of *Presbyter* as, in most cases, implying the existence of a church. Such indeed we find to be the case in Leicestershire, where we meet with an enumeration of *Presbyteri* at no less than forty-one places in that county, yet it is only in the town of Leicester that we find the word *Ecclesia* used.

There is another circumstance too which I find it difficult to explain in the Survey relating to the tithes of churches and circset. I have already alluded to the ecclesiastical laws of Canute, in which are enumerated all the dues payable to the clergy, as tithes of corn and cattle, Rome scot, church scot, and the payment of them secured by various penalties, etc. One would have imagined that the support he had met with from the see of Rome would have induced the Conqueror so far to preserve the appearance, at least, if not the reality, of respect to the church, as to cause inquiry to be made on the liabilities of the land to the church; not a word of it is mentioned in the instructions to the Inquisitors. They were ordered to inquire into the name of the place, who held it in the time of King Edward, who was the present possessor, how many hides in the manor, how many carucates in demesne, how many homagers, how many villans, how many cotarii, how many servi, what freemen, how many tenants in socage, what quantity of wood, how much meadow

* Camden has preserved the following inscription, said to have been engraven on the original fridstol: "Hæc sedes lapidea Freedstool dicitur; i.e., Pacis Cathedra, ad quam reus fugiendo perveniens omnimodam habet securitatem."

A statute of Edward II. provided, that "so long as the criminals be in the church, they shall be supplied with the necessaries of life," and be permitted "exire libere pro obscæno pondere depouendo."

and pasture, what mills and fish ponds, how much added or taken away, what the gross value in King Edward's time, what the present value, and how much each freeman or socman had or has. Such are the exact terms of the Inquisition. Historians however, it must be confessed, do not entirely agree respecting the nature of the returns required; some say a return was ordered to be made, "quot animalia," others take no notice whatever of any return of live stock. The writer of the Saxon Chronicle coolly tells us, that not a hyde, or yardland, not an ox, cow, or hog were omitted in the census; and Brompton even adds, "quot ecclesie parochiales." But it is more than probable that all these and other variations were suggested by a partial examination of the returns. Such is the opinion of the ablest writers. The Saxon Chronicle does indeed assert that King William permitted an account to be taken of the lands of the archbishops, diocesan bishops, and abbots; but those who trace the policy of the Conqueror, the speedy deposition of these prelates, and the substitution of foreigners in their place, may perhaps not give him much credit for this concession.

One would imagine, from the slight mention of tithes in the survey, that all such churches as were unendowed with land must have derived their support entirely by voluntary oblations, or by church scot or masses. In six counties the word "decimæ" is not so much as once mentioned, and in none are tithes introduced except incidentally; yet the payment of tithes is several times enjoined in the Saxon laws, and it is expressly forbidden* that the clergy of one parish should entice the parishioners of another for the sake of their tithes. It should seem that the lay owner was at liberty to select such church as he preferred, and the consecration of tithes made to that church was the ordinary practice. By the testimony of the two shires of Nottingham and Derby, "De Stori antecessore Walterii de Aincurt d'nt q'd sine alicuj' licentia potuit facere sibi æccl'am in sua terra ꝓ in sua soca ꝓ suam decimam mittere q' vellet." In another place we find the tithes of a ruined church transferred to the priest of another parish. It seems that from 5 to 20 acres formed the usual extent of what was to support the church.

There is one entry in Berkshire both of the value of the dues of the church as well as the tithes, but they were held of the Crown, and a certain quantity of land is also mentioned. In Suffolk, under Tornai, we have mention made of a church in King Edward's time of one carucate of land, of which Hugo de Montfort has twenty-three acres, which he revokes in favour of a certain chapel, which four brothers, freemen of Hugo, erected on their own land near the cemetery of the mother church; and these four brothers were in-

* In the Liber Legum Ecclesiasticarum, printed in Wilkins' "Concilia," vol. i., p. 265, dated 994.

habitants of the parish of the mother church, which was insufficient to accommodate the whole parish. *One half of the burial dues* belonged to the church, as well as a fourth part of other offerings; but whether the chapel had been consecrated or not the hundred were unable to say. Here the chapel was built near the cemetery of the mother church; but whether divine service was performed in it the same manner as the mother church, or whether one or more priests resided in the parish, is not said. There was a well-known Saxon law, that if a thegn had erected a church in his boclande, having a place of burial,* he was sure to give to the church one-third of his own tenths; if he had not a burial-place, he was to give what he chose out of the nine parts. The practice of burying within cities commenced among the Saxons many ages before the Conquest. Cuthbert, the eleventh bishop from Augustin, obtained leave to make cemeteries within cities. The inference to be drawn from this is, that before that time the custom was to inter the dead at a distance from the living. I find in the county of Suffolk a church mentioned to which nine freemen gave twenty acres for the good of their souls; but the soul sceat did not always consist of land; but there can be no doubt that the revenues of the church were materially indebted to this custom, for it appears in all the wills. If the body was buried out of the "riht scire" or parish, the soul's sceat was to be paid to the minister to which he belonged. It was to be always given at the open grave. So urgent was the duty of this practice felt, that several of their gilds were formed for the purpose of providing a fund for this purpose. But this practice continued many ages after the Conquest, and whoever has perused the first volume of the "Wills and Inventories, etc., of the Northern Counties of England from the eleventh century downwards," as published under the auspices of the Surtees Society, will find in every part of that very interesting volume examples of testamentary liberality to the church. The first will (or rather, as it has been with more propriety termed, a mortuary) contains a list of the splendid robes, plate, etc., of William de Karlepho, abbot of St. Vincent's in Normandy, but, after the Conquest, consecrated Bishop of Durham in 1082. These costly ornaments along with other articles of value were bequeathed to the monks of Durham. But I am trespassing upon your pages. There remains another source of ecclesiastical revenue in the Saxon times, church dues, *circset* or *chirchset*, † which was at first a quantity of corn paid to the

* According to Selden, so essential was the circumstance of a cemetery to the constitution of a church, that even as late as Henry III., in a case of *quare impedit*, the issue was not *whether it were a church or chapel*, but whether it had rights of baptism and sepulture.

† *Fleta* (lib. 1, c. 47) thus defines *chirchset*, "*Certam mensuram bladi tritici significat, quam quilibet olim sanctæ ecclesiæ die S. Martini, tempore tam Britanorum quam Anglorum;*" and the *Leges Inæ* say, "*Circisceatta reddita sint in festo S. Martini: si quis hoc non compleat, sit reus 60 solidorum, et duo decuplo reddat ipsum circisceattum,*" etc.

priest on St. Martin's day, as the first-fruits of the harvest. It seems, however, to have included, especially in later times, not only corn but poultry, or any other provision paid in kind to the religious. This church scot in many cases constituted the principal support of many of the clergy, and yet the sum total of the land which is returned as subject to this payment is very insignificant. There are not a dozen names of places in the whole Survey where any such payment is mentioned. This seems unaccountable on any other supposition than that these dues were too trivial to be recorded, or if returned by the local commissioners were struck out for the sake of abridgment, or as irrelevant and unnecessary matter. The jurors in numerous instances framed returns more comprehensive than was required by the king's precept, and in many instances there is reason to believe that the Survey handed down to us was less circumstantial than the original returns, from which they were excerpted. And when it is considered that, from the very nature of the questions propounded in the king's precept, none but persons long resident in each district could give accurate information, and that to Saxon proprietors the most valuable portion of the returns was due, what more likely than that in some more remote and less cultivated districts, where the inhabitants were in a very rude and barbarous state, there should be a difficulty in many instances in finding persons competent to give the requisite information; and, admitting that such qualified persons were found, the Saxon tongue was so little cultivated by the Norman scribes, that they were very likely to commit a mistake in translating or in transcribing such returns. One such mistake I find in this neighbourhood in the name of a village, which in the Survey is printed Heptone instead of Heatone, the letter *a* being changed into *p*. The village is placed in the proper place betwixt Leptone and Dalton, and is now known by the name of Kirkheaton, a church having been erected there subsequently by one of the Lacies. Had there not been in the Survey another village spelt Hoptone I should have thought it possible that Heptone was a misspelling for Hopton, another village not very distant; and there are other marks, if I mistake not, of careless transcribing on the part of the Norman scribes.

It has often been a subject of surprise that Halifax, which is the capital of one of the largest and most populous parishes in the kingdom, should not be named in Domesday when several other villages around it are enumerated, such as Eland, Ouram, Hipperholm, Stainland, Greetland, Fixby, Rastrick, etc. What may, perhaps, add to our surprise is the well-authenticated fact that a church at Halifax is mentioned in existence not long after the Conquest, yet after the completion of Domesday, and going under the name of a rectory.* How, then, shall we account for the omission? It was

* *Vide* Dr. Whitaker's "*Loidis et Elmete*," p. 331.

quite impossible, had such a town or even village as Halifax existed at the period of the Domesday Survey, that the Inquisitors should have overlooked it, seeing that so many of the circumjacent townships are recorded. The truth is that the term Halifax or Hali faih or fae, the holy forest (for faih is an ancient name for forest) was applied to the forest, in which there was an hermitage dedicated to St. John the Baptist, where, in fact, the parish church now stands. In the ages before the Conquest it was embosomed in woods, and the sanctity in which the hermitage was held attracted a constant influx of pilgrims from the surrounding districts. Camden's account of Halifax tells us "that at first it was a hermitage of very great antiquity, and the church that now is built from, or rather added to, a *chapel* long since built, was consecrated, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist, who is styled by some ancients the first father of hermits; and in which place, they pretend, was kept the real face of St. John the Baptist; hence was it named Halifax or holy face." Others derive the word from the Norman word "fax," signifying hair, in allusion to an idle fable, which, as it is on all hands regarded as a monkish invention for mercenary purposes, I will not trouble your readers with on this occasion. But it seems to me that neither of these latter derivations is the true one, but that the name was given to the place from the situation of the hermitage in a forest; hence it was called Hali faih* or sacer boscus.† It was situate in a dark and solemn grove on the bank of a small rivulet, possibly for the convenience of baptizing the early Christian converts, and it would have been difficult to have found in the whole district a place of greater privacy and retirement, or (as the face of things then stood) one better calculated for the purposes of devotion, such as was the object of this hermitage. We have no account of the period when the church or chapel built on the site of this hermitage was consecrated, but it may have been used, and probably was used, as a place of divine worship before the Conquest. It is more than probable that the number of chapels at the period of Domesday was much greater than a perusal of that work would lead us to suspect. Where capellæ are mentioned, it is generally in connection with some church, but that they existed independently of any such connection we may be sure from the incidental allusions made to such chapels. In Norwich, for instance, it is stated that the inhabitants had forty-three chapels. But we are not told how they were supported. It must always be borne in mind that the churches of the Anglo-

* In Glossaria of Ducange and others I find the word "fahia" interpreted "sylva ex arboribus incædua," that is, a wild wood of unpruned trees, a fit site for a hermitage or hermitory. Fahia is also translated Gallicè futaye.

† John de Sacro-bosco, author of the Treatise de Spherâ, is said to have been born in Halifax.

Dr. Whitaker derives the name of Halifax from Hali, and an old plural noun fax, in Norman French denoting "high ways."

Saxons, especially in the earlier periods, were built of wood. Of such materials was the first church in Northumberland built, as well as the one of Holy Island. I am aware that many specimens of ancient Saxon ecclesiastical architecture are still adduced in proof of the use of stone masonry, but they appear chiefly in the instance of a few parish churches which existed in Saxon times. But the number of such is small when compared to the number of churches, few as they are, that are recorded in Domesday. Of the great majority of unrecorded chapels, oratories, hermitages, etc., existing at or about the period of Domesday, the trunks of trees from the surrounding forest, or the turf, and occasionally, perhaps, such stone as might be dug on the spot, constituted the whole materials of these humble yet holy structures. [See Note 30.]

Yours, etc. J. K. WALKER, M.D.

Saxon Inscription in Leominster Church.

[1827, *Part I.*, pp. 414, 415.]

In the quarto edition of Weever's "Funeral Monuments" [p. 584] the following inscription is given, as communicated by Sir John Har-topp, Bart., to Warburton, Somerset Herald, in Hackluyt's handwriting, but having a few blanks supplied by a friend of Warburton.

It is introduced in Weever with the following preface by Hackluyt :
"Coppie of an inscription found by me John Hackluyte of Eaton* in Herefordshire, upon a brass plate on the wall of the south side of the church of Leominster in the said countie of Hereford, A.D. 1592. All the letters were cutt oute in brass, and traissed upon a brasse plate, and fastened upon a timbere lette into the wall, and had been washed over with white, at suche time the said church had been amended and cleaned."

Ōyne fýrmeræ fæðores býbe býtlian uppan ðir mýne býrig 7 æt
My foremost fathers did build upon this my town, & at
Cýnzhelmefforþ†, 7 Ōebeffpelhamftebe†, 7 Lýcetfeld, 7 Leacearter,
Kenelmsford and Meadswellhamstede, and Lichfield, and Leicester,
7 Lýnzhelmeffeorþe, 7 Clýnt, 7 Cynzelmerphame, 7 Þýncelcombe, 7
and Kenilworth, and Clint and Kenilsham, and Winchcombe, and
þeorðeforþbýrig, 7 Suðtan, 7 Cingerceartere, 7 Ðornýmýnfter, 7
Hereford, and Sutton, and Kenchester, and Westminster, and
þeplýamcearter, 7 Snocýnghame, 7 Þapryþic, 7 Glæpceartere, 7
Verulam and Nottingham, and Warwick, and Gloucester, and

* Eaton is a hamlet of Leominster, where the Hackluyt family were seated, and had considerable estates.—See Price's "History of Leominster," p. 142. This John was the author of the Voyages.

† Chelmsford, I presume, where was a British station, which Plautius took.—Sir R. C. Hoare's "Giraldus," I. xci.

‡ Peterborough.

Stranzforþbýrig, 7 Beorncleaz, 7 Deoturbýrg, 7 Runcornæn, 7 Tome-
 Stanford and Berkeley, and Tewkesbury, and Runcorn, and Tam-
 airþeopðe, 7 Eaberþýrig, 7 Sempprinzahame, 7 Lyncylenebýrig, 7
 worth and Eadesbury, and Sempringham, and Lincoln and
 Cþýchelmereleý, 7 Offarjzelaðunge.—Crist lufoðe myner jylf, 7 þær
 Cwichelmesley, and Offchurch. Christ loved me, and was
 mýne rýht riwæta helme, ælc ic hebbe zelufode Crist, 7 Ðitoblice
 my most righteous defence, always I have loved Christ, and for
 hif lufian mýne Selanðir ic forþrecan, soðlic mýne Cýnzerce lan'd
 his love my lands I forsook [or gave], but my Kingland*
 7 ælc mýne Kynzelmerþeopðe ic ne forþýran ni 7 ic eam Cristar.
 and also my Kenelworth I do not forgive [*i.e.*, give], I am Christ's.
 Cýnelme 7 Reýnelmebalb býð ýr mýne maðorine æt Clýnton.
 Kynelm and Reynelmbald is my kinsman at Clynton.

Against this inscription two objections have been made; First, that inscriptions on brass plates are anachronical.† To this objection one reply only is necessary. “Habetur et hodie Welliæ in ædibus D. Thomæ Hugonis equitis aurati, *tabula ænea*, columnæ Glastoniensis ecclesiæ olim affixa; cui incisum legitur: *Anno post passionem Domini xxvi. duodecim sancti (ex quibus Joseph ab Arimathia primus erat) huc venerunt, qui ecclesiam hujus regni primam in hoc loco construxerunt, etc., etc.*—“*Usserii Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*,” p. 9, edit. fol. 1698.

The *second* objection is that the inscription is a forgery by Warburton; but Renebald is made ancestor of the Clinton family by Vincent, who died before Warburton was born; and Renebald is further named as such in a pedigree written in the end of the seventeenth century, and to be found in the Harleian MS., No. 4029, fol. 65.

The object of this communication is to solicit from your learned correspondents the most probable emendations of errors, which I conceive to have been committed by Warburton's friend in supplying the *lacunæ* of Hackluyt's copy.

The errors appear to me to be these, which follow:

Ic forþrecan.—This is an infinitive mood, made to follow the nominative Ic. The same objection applies to Ic ne forþýran.

Ni 7, which follows forþýran, is *non est*; and is apparently a wrong word introduced.

Reýnelmebalb býð ýr (*i.e.*, *Reynelmbald† be is*) is a pleonasm, and býð is apparently some word connected with Reynelmebald: possibly 3ið; for *Githa*, or *Gith*, was the name of a brother of King Harold.

* Adjacent to Leominster.

† It is a mistake of Mr. Lethellier.

‡ Price (103) has converted Rynelmbald into Kynelmbald, because there is an adjacent village called Kimbolton; but he knew of no other copy of the inscription than Weaver's, and the adjunct *at Clinsoni* removes all application to *Kimbolton*.

—We have in Domesday a Wido de Reynbudcūrt ; but this is out of the question, Reynbudcūrt implying only Reinbald's court, and the name of Reynelmebald's residence could not be that by which he himself was designated.

Yours, etc. S. Y. E.

[1827, *Part I.*, pp. 503, 504.]

Your Saxon readers are much obliged to you and your correspondent "S. Y. E." for the republication of the inscription found on the south wall of Leominster Church. Nothing can be more groundless than the objections raised against the authenticity of this inscription ; nor does it require the support of a similar tablet of brass formerly affixed to a column of the Abbey Church at Glastonbury, as noticed by Usher ("Antiquitates," p. 9, ed. 1698). The age of the latter is uncertain ; and it records an event which, if true, has been so blended with the marvellous and the superstitious, as to throw an air of suspicion over the whole story. The facts recorded in the Leominster inscription are not of this nature ; and whether preserved in brass or stone, or in any other way, is a point of no great importance ; but the probability is, that the original inscription being partly decayed, or in danger of destruction, was from its historical importance deemed worthy of being renewed in brass at a later period. The value of the information contained in it consists in this : that it is *contemporary*. Of this there is internal evidence. The writer, if we may so call him, speaks in the first person, and gives us the history of his family and property. That family was of the royal race of Mercia ; and the property comprised most of the ancient fortresses and lands of the Mercian kings. How much of this property is still vested in those noble families, who are the representatives and descendants of the Saxon kings of Mercia, his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, who is a lineal descendant of the Rembalds of Clinton, may perhaps be capable of ascertaining with the greatest facility, by tracing it either to the Kenelms of Leominster, or to the Rembalds of Clinton, now Clent in Staffordshire. With a view to the elucidation of these points, I have ventured to give you, Mr. Urban, my interpretation of the topography of the inscription, which differs in some instances from that of your correspondent "S. Y. E." For example, *Ɔeotɪɪbȳpɪɪz* is there translated Tewkesbury, as if the reading were *Ɔeocɪɪbȳpɪɪz* ; whereas I consider *Ɔeotɪɪbȳpɪɪz* to be the correct reading, and that Tutbury in Staffordshire is intended—not Tewksbury in Gloucestershire. Here we may remark, Mr. Urban, by the way, that in Staffordshire, as well as in Oxfordshire and other counties, many traces are to be found of the Celtic worship of Teutates, and other aboriginal deities, adopted by our Saxon ancestors also before their conversion to Christianity, which was not effectually and generally completed at so early a period as some would persuade us. Hence Tutsbury and Tetbury or

Teut's-Bury, Tetsworth or Teut's-Worth, Great and Little Tew, etc. But the further illustration of this curious subject I leave to Mr. Bowles, from whom we may soon expect a considerable addition to our topographical stores, in the "Parochial History of Bremhill." At present I shall confine myself to the Leominster inscription, where the places recorded I conceive to be these: Chelmsford, Peterborough,* Lichfield, Leicester, Kenelworth, Clent, Kenilsham, Winchcombe, Hereford, Sutton, Kenchester, Thorney, St. Alban's, Nottingham, Warwick, Gloucester, Stamford, Berkeley, Tutbury, Runcorn, Tamworth, Eddesbury, Sempringham, Lincoln, Cuckamsley, Offchurch, Kingsland, Kenelworth, Clinton (the same with *Clent* before mentioned), from which place, and not Glympton in Oxfordshire, the noble family of Newcastle takes its name.

I will conclude with some remarks and corrections. For *ælc* read *æc*, *i.e.* *eac*, *also, eke*; *hebbe* is understood after *poppecan*; for *niſ* read *ni*, "I will not give," etc.; *ŷ* may be considered an interpolation as explanatory of *byð*; for *maƷopne* read *maƷopine*. [See Note 31.]

Yours, etc. J. I.

Ancient Tomb at Dewsbury, Yorkshire.

[1836, *Part II.*, pp. 38, 39.]

In the accompanying plate we give representations of two of the most ancient tombs formed of stone, known to have existed in this country.

The upper one is at Dewsbury in Yorkshire. That place is remarkable as having been one of the earliest settlements of Christianity in England; a subject which has been ably and instructively discussed by the historian of South Yorkshire, in a memoir published in the first volume of the "Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica."

There is a woodcut of it in Whitaker's "Loidis and Elmete;" but we have reason to suppose that the present representation, drawn by Mr. George Buckler, is far more accurate. Dr. Whitaker describes it as "part of a Saxon tomb, shaped exactly like a common cottage house, but with the tiles of the roof resembling feathers, and very artificially laid over each other. At the entire end is cut in relieve a cross of a very antique form. All the Saxon tombs which I have seen are ridged more or less like this. It particularly resembles the tombs of the monks assassinated by the Danes at Peterborough;† but what is

* In the original, *Medeswelhamsteds*, the ancient name of the place; before *Burgh*, *Gildenburgh*, and *Peterborough* were introduced by the love of innovation.

† Of this there is an engraving, but audaciously *improved*, in Gunton's "Church of Peterborough," p. 243. A more accurate representation will be found in Carter's "Ancient Sculpture and Painting," Part I., p. 12. Its similarity to the Dewsbury tomb consists in its being of the same shape, and formed of a single stone; but

still more remarkable, I am assured by a friend, that in the church of San Paolo fuori li Muna, at Rome, he discovered a Roman sarcophagus of white marble, almost exactly resembling this, particularly in the imbricated roof. Wilfrid, we know, brought artists from Italy, and they undoubtedly wrought after Roman models; their own architecture was nothing else than a debased Doric. Of their sculpture such as this tomb, we have much fewer remains.*

Together with this tomb some other very curious sculptures were discovered of exceedingly early date, representing in relief figures of Christ and the Apostles. They are represented in Whitaker's "Loidis and Elmete;" and there is little doubt that they formed portions of a cross, the memory of which was preserved by tradition, and also by the rhymes of a village poet. (See Mr. Hunter's essay before mentioned in the first volume of "Collectanea Top. et Geneal.")

The second cut represents another tomb, which bears the appearance of a somewhat later form than that of Dewsbury; but seems as it were the next gradation in point of style. The ridged roof and the imitation of tiles are retained; but the side is sculptured with an arcade of columns and interlacing arches, in a style occasionally seen in early Norman architecture. We are not certain whether this tomb is still in existence; for we find it was conveyed by Mr. Hasted, historian of Kent, from the church of Fordwich to his private residence at Canterbury; and it is therefore not improbable that, since his death, it may have fallen into ignorant hands, and have been destroyed. In any case, we are glad to have this opportunity of preserving a representation of it, engraved from a drawing made exactly sixty years ago by the celebrated Captain Grose; because the small vignette given in Hasted's work is very ill drawn and unsatisfactory.

The following is the account which Mr. Hasted has given of this tomb, in his description of the church of Fordwich:

"In the west part of the body of this church, was placed a very ancient stone shrine against the wall; which having been removed some years since, was cast out in the churchyard; where being soon likely to perish, by being exposed to the weather, it was purchased by a gentleman [we presume Mr. Hasted himself?], and brought to the precincts of the cathedral of Canterbury, where it now lies." Should it still exist within those precincts, we would respectfully suggest, that its great curiosity well entitles it to be placed within the walls of the church itself. It is added that "It is one solid stone, sculptured only on one side; the back part having two hollows, as if made to fasten it to the wall."

the roof is ornamented with scroll-work (altered into roses in square panels in Gunton's plate), and in the front are six whole-length figures of the monks, or of saints, under round-headed arches.

* "Loidis and Elmete," p. 301.

Mr. Grose's drawing is accompanied by a section, and the following very complete measurements :

Length, 5 feet 8 inches.			
Diameters of the columns	2½	inc.	
Breadth of intervals	1½	—	
Plinth at bottom	3	—	
Shaft of columns	8	—	
Capitals	2½	—	
Height of arches	3½	—	
Upper moulding over arches	1½	—	
Scale work*	8	—	
Mouldings at the top	2½	—	

He has also added this section of the top moulding.

We trust this notice will lead to some further illustrations of our earliest English tombs, which were unaccountably neglected by Mr. Gough, whose "Sepulchral Monuments" were arranged to begin with the Conquest, though his collateral illustrations are generally, throughout his great work, both diffuse and miscellaneous.

J. G. N.

Sun-dial at Bishopston Church, Sussex.

[1840, *Part II.*, p. 496.]

The church of Bishopston, co. Sussex, the scene of the pastoral labours and the burial place of the amiable Hurdia, presents many points of interest to the architectural antiquary. The prevailing characteristics of the Saxon style abound throughout the building. The tower is remarkable for consisting of four stages or stories, each stage being a little larger than the superincumbent one. A band of corbels surrounds the top of the upper story, and serves as a cornice for the support of a low obtuse steeple. The chancel exhibits a union of the semicircular and pointed styles. The zigzag and saltire ornaments are chiefly used in the semicircular arches.

On a porch at the south side of the church is an antique sun-dial (figured above). It is of stone, and contains, on its upper limb, a cross and the word "EADRIC." That this dial, as well as the church itself, is of Saxon workmanship, there can be no doubt.

As Bishopston was very early given to the see of Chichester, I was induced to imagine that this Edric was one of the bishops of that see, but, on referring to "Dallaway," I find no such name. He may have been one of the ancient vicars of the church. Perhaps some of your correspondents can throw some light upon this curious relic of a forgotten age.

Yours, etc. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

* Hasted's vignette gives four rows of scales, or tiles; but we have greater confidence in Captain Grose's drawing.

On the Brass of King Ethelred the Elder in the Church of Wimborne Minster; WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE TIME, PLACE, AND MANNER OF HIS DEATH.*

[1865, *Part II.*, pp. 708-715.]

The county of Dorset, amongst its numerous claims on the antiquary's notice, may boast of having afforded the rite of sepulture to several of the West Saxon kings. In Sherborne Monastery were interred the remains of Ethelbald [A.D. 861], and Ethelbert [A.D. 866], brothers of Ethelred the Elder and the illustrious Alfred, and who inherited the kingdom of Wessex in succession from their father Ethelwolf. At Wareham, King Bertric, the immediate predecessor of Egbert, had his last home; there also the bleeding remains of the murdered Edward found a temporary repose previous to their interment at Shaftesbury; and here, in Cuthberga's monastery of Wimborne, which she had founded for the repose of her own soul, she being one of the royal line, the warrior-king, whose monument now engages our attention, slept by the side of that sainted lady, doubtless in the odour of each other's sanctity, through many a long year of strife and change, until the sacred relics of the latter were "translated to the Est end of the High Altare."† To complete this list of royal interments, we notice lastly that "King Sifferth killed himself, and his body lies at Wimborne;"‡ but no memorial marks the royal suicide's grave.

On the north side of the altar, on the floor of the presbytery, is a brass plate bearing an effigy and inscription to the memory of Ethelred, king of the West Saxons. He is represented of three-quarters length, crowned, and robed, with the right hand laid on his breast, the left holding a sceptre resting on his shoulder. Underneath is the following inscription in Roman capitals:

IN HOC LOCO QUIESCIT CORPVS STI
ETHELREDI REGIS WEST SAXONVM MARTYRIS
QVI ANO' DON' 873 23 DIE APRILIS PER MANVS
DACORVM PAGANORVM OCCVBIT:

beneath this, a shield charged with a cross flory.

As the above inscription differs in some particulars from that which is recorded by Leland and Camden, we subjoin their respective readings. In the first place, Leland:

"St Cuthberga was byried in the North side of the Presbyterie. King Ethelrede was byried by her, whos Tumbe was lately repairid, and a marble stone ther layid with an Image of a King in a Plate of Brasse, with this inscription: 'In hoc loco quiescit corpvs S. Ethel-

* This paper was prepared for the Congress of the Archæological Institute at Dorchester, but in consequence of the author's absence it was not read.

† Leland's "Itinerary," vol. iii., p. 71. ‡ Ang.-Sax. Chronicle, A. 962.

redi regis West-Saxonvm Martyris qvi A° Dⁱ 827 13° die Apl. per manvs Danorvm Paganorvm occvbvit.*†

In the next place, Camden :

"King Ethelred, a right good and vertuous prince, brother of Alfred, slain in the battell at Wittingham against the Danes, lieth enttered in this church, upon whose tombe, which not long since hath been repaired, this new inscription is to be read: 'In hoc loco quiescit corpvs S. Ethelredi regis West-Saxonvm Martyris qvi anno domini DCCCLXXII XXIII Aprilis per manvs Danorvm Paganorvm occvbvit.'‡†

With regard to the discrepancy here of date, we have no doubt whatever that the numerals given by Leland, being so wide of all authority, are merely a typographical error; and that the same may be affirmed of "Danorvm" for "Dacorvm," as we shall presently see. Camden appears to follow Leland pretty closely in what he says of the recent repairs of the tomb; also in the inscription, with the exception of giving a corrected reading of the date. Rapin makes this statement, that the brass plate with the inscription given by Camden was taken away in the Civil Wars;‡ whence we infer that the one now on the floor is not the one which was there in Leland's time, and perhaps transcribed by him, but was substituted for it at some period subsequent to the Restoration.

It has been remarked that "the plate bearing the inscription is of a different metal from the effigy and escutcheon, which appears to be of an earlier date."§

Speed follows Camden, with the exception of the reading "Dacorvm" for "Danorvm,"|| and his transcript, with this correction, corresponds with the inscription as engraved on a brass plate that is preserved in the library of the Minster; and this, we doubt not, is the original plate to which Leland refers, and which was torn away from its matrix at the time alluded to by Rapin. The inscription on this plate runs thus: "IN HOC LOCO QUIESCIT CORPVS SANCTI ETHELREDI REGIS WEST-SAXONVM MARTYRIS QVI ANNO DOMINI 872 23 DIE APRILIS PER MANVS DACORVM PAGANORVM OCCVBVIT."

It has been observed of this inscription that it is probably older than the one on the floor, and moreover that it is engraved on a *brass* plate, whereas the other is on a *copper* plate, which is pared away to fit in between the effigy and the coat of arms.¶

* Leland's "Itinerary," Hearne edit. 1711.

† Camden's "Britannia," by Dr. Holland, 1610.

‡ "History of England," ed. ii. 1732, vol. i., p. 89.

§ Mr. Burkitt, in *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, 1853, p. 364.

|| "History of Britain." Geoffrey of Monmouth calls Denmark "Dacia," and the natives "Daci."

¶ The Rev. Peter Hall.

A most singular statement in reference to this brass has been put forth in a little work lately published,* viz., that

"The Brass of Ethelred was originally that of a Priest of the fourteenth century, the cross being retained, but the robe etched out to represent ermine, and the crown and sceptre inserted. The character of the etching shows this to have been done in the middle of the fifteenth century."

But the writer subsequently retracts this opinion, and admits that the effigy has never been altered, and is probably of the date of the fourteenth century.

With regard to the inscription, he states that "neither of the dates is correct, and that the more modern of the two is not older than the sixteenth and the other not older than the fifteenth century."

The effigy may be, and most probably is, the original one, but we have shown that "the more modern" inscription is of the seventeenth century, and that "the other" is contemporary with Leland himself, whose account of it may be referred to the year 1535, or thereabouts, when "the tumbe was lately repaired," etc.

In respect to the dates, we agree with the writer alluded to, that neither the date A.D. 872 nor A.D. 873 is the true date of the event recorded by the inscription.

All the old monkish chroniclers, except Higden, Ingulph of Croyland, and John of Wallingford, give the year A.D. 871 as that of King Ethelred's death; the two former placing it in A.D. 872, the latter in A.D. 870; all of them agree that it occurred after Easter; three only specify the day of the month, viz. Florence of Worcester, Higden, and John of Brompton, who assign to that event the 9th of May. Most of them seem to have taken the Saxon Chronicle for their text-book; from which we learn that the series of battles fought by Ethelred and his brother Alfred, culminating in the battle of *Meretune* and death of Ethelred, transpired in A.D. 871.

"After this battle there came a great army in the summer to Reading. And after this, over Easter, King Ethelred died; and he reigned five years; and his body lies at Wimburn Minster."†

"Post hanc autem pugnam venit magna quies (Somertida) æstiva ad Readingum. Deinde post Pascha decessit Ætheredus rex."‡

The word here rendered by "deinde" does not, we apprehend, strictly imply a regular succession of events; if it does, the Easter of A.D. 872 must obviously be intended. There is a certain ambiguity in the phraseology of these ancient chronicles which should make us the more careful in our interpretation of them. "Deinde," and then, (*i.e.* after the battle of *Meretune*, and) after Easter, King Ethelred died—the Easter of the same year in which those battles were fought,

* "History of Wimbome Minster," 1860, 8vo., anon.: Bell and Daldy.

† Saxon Chronicle, translated by Giles: Bohn.

‡ *Ibid.*, ed. Gibson, 1692.

viz. A.D. 871. By taking this view of the meaning of the passage, we reconcile the statement of the Chronicle with the account of the same transactions most graphically related by Asser, and perhaps from particulars communicated by Alfred himself to his old friend and tutor.

"A.D. 871 . . . et eodem anno post Pascha Adheredus rex . . . viam universitatis adeuns in Winburnham monasterio sepultus, adventum Domini et primam cum justis resurexionem expectat."*

Easter Day in this year falling on April 15th,† his death on the 23rd would therefore be a week after Easter in the year 871.

Considerable doubt has been expressed by historians as to the identity of the place *Meretune*. Sharon Turner enumerates Merton in Surrey, Marden in Wilts, and Merton in Oxfordshire, each as having probabilities in its favour; whilst he himself, apparently unconvinced, "ventures a new opinion; that it was Morton in Berks;"‡ on grounds, as it appears to us, of a very inconclusive character: and the same may be said of the arguments adduced by Dr. Plot in support of the claim of Merton in Oxfordshire,§ and of those by Mr. Britton for Marden in Wilts.|| Gibson, who seems to have suggested the three former places, wisely left the question to be decided by those who were versed in local antiquities.¶

There is a village in South Wilts, at the distance of fourteen miles from Wimborne, which seemed, in the opinion of the editor of Hutchins's "Dorset," to offer a solution of the knotty point. After adverting to the opinions previously broached, he goes on to say—

"There is every reason in the world to affirm that the battle in which Ethelred lost his life was fought at Marten (*Merden Gibson; Carte*) formerly called Meretun; a little village in the south part of Wilts, where a range of fortifications extending more than a mile in length are to be seen."**

We coincide with this view, though not professing to fortify our position with the "fortifications" of the learned historian. The ancient orthography of the name of the place where the battle was fought, is variously found thus: Meretune, Meretun, Meredune, Merton, Merantune; and its etymon is manifestly *Mere-ton* (Angl. Sax.), *oppidum paludosum*, a town or village in a marsh or watery place. This definition strictly applies to the village of Martin; moreover in ancient records the name is written Merton; for instance, King Edmund (circ. 940) granted to the church of Mary and the blessed St. Dunstan of Glastonbury the manor of Domerham with Martin (Merton) and Pedrington (Pentridge?), one hundred hides.††

* Asser's "Annals."

† Ex inf. Professor A. de Morgan.

‡ "History of the Anglo-Saxons," vol. ii., p. 44, note.

§ Plot's "History of Oxfordshire," ed. 1705, p. 342.

|| "Modern Wilts," p. 17.

¶ Saxon Chronicle, ed. 1692, note.

** Hutchins's "History of Dorset," 2nd edit., vol. iii., p. 544.

†† Dugdale's "Monasticon," ed. 1655, vol. i., p. 15, and William of Malmesbury.

In documents relating to Cranborne Chase (temp. Edw. I.) the name is written Mertone.*

The Saxon army, after its defeat at Basing, the last of Ethelred's battles preceding that of Meretune, which took place two months afterwards, would undoubtedly retreat through a district unoccupied by the enemy; it would not therefore retire on Merton in Surrey, or on Merton in Oxfordshire, or on Morton in Berks, which were situated in districts that had submitted to the Danes. But the country to the south was open to them, and there is no other place, except Marden in North Wilts, whose ancient nomenclature suggests so plausible an identity as this village of Martin in South Wilts. But we have something to say on the question of ancient earthworks and "fortifications," as an argument corroborative of this view. Mr. Britton mainly relies on this species of evidence in advocating the claims of Marden.

"On reconsidering," he says, "the subject in relation to the traditional and local peculiarities of Marden, we are more confirmed in opinion that this was the real place of conflict. In the vicinity of Marden is a very remarkable tumulus, being of large dimensions, and standing alone," † etc.

He makes no further comment on the "traditional" evidence. We cannot comprehend the force of the testimony which a tumulus of undeniably ancient British construction is thought capable of affording in support of a claim which has nothing whatever of ancient British belonging to it. Conceived in the same vague comprehension of the character of ancient earthworks was the hint thrown out in Hutchins in reference to "a range of fortifications" to be seen near the village of Martin. They are to be seen, it is true; earthworks of varied and extensive description; entrenchments enclosing an ancient British hill-fortress; viæ leading towards, and into it; and above all, a stupendous vallum traversing the open down for nearly two miles, and rivalling the Wansdyke in its strength; ‡ but these are features of that country which may have been ages ago, as they are still, objects of archæological interest, even in that remote time when the Saxon and Dane engaged in mortal conflict; assuredly they cannot be constructed into proofs or illustrations of that deadly struggle.

There are, however, certain other indications which may be appealed to in determining the probability of the hypothesis advanced. The land to the south of Martin rises abruptly to a considerable elevation above the valley, and bears the name of Hanham Hill, which is continuous with the range of the Blagden and Pentridge hills in Wilts and Dorset. This hill we suppose to have been the scene of Ethelred's

* "Modern Wilts," Hundred of Damerham.

† *Ibid.*, p. 410.

‡ Bockly Dyke, the modern boundary of the counties of Wilts and Dorset.

last encounter with the Danes. At the distance of about a mile and a half to the south-east, on the Damerham Down, there is an earthwork or entrenched camp of very peculiar construction, called "Soldiers' Ring." It is not a *ring*, but a spacious parallelogram included within a triple vallum and double foss of inconsiderable height and depth. Sir R. C. Hoare knew not what to make of it, differing as it does from the ordinary characters of Celtic and Roman camps.* May we not, therefore, ascribe it to the Danes or Saxons? And we therefore hazard the conjecture that this was the Saxon camp occupied by Ethelred, and situated in proximity to that elevated land which was so favourably adapted for defensive purposes. There is another noteworthy point in connection with this locality. In several of the tumuli of the contiguous district which were investigated by Hoare, he discovered objects which are of very rare occurrence in the tumuli of Wilts and Dorset, viz., iron spear-heads, and a few personal ornaments, all of a decided Saxon character, though the learned antiquary does not seem to have recognised them in that light.† These may be but sandy foundations to build a theory upon: let others set upon them what value they please; to us they seem, at all events, to lie in the right direction. Nor may we omit to mention the existence of a popular tradition of the village connected with Hanham Hill, which seems to convey an obscure remembrance of the event we are attempting to locate there. "In old times, when there was a king in every county, a battle was fought on Hanham Hill and a king was slain." So fully convinced was our informant of the truth of this story, that he, a poor man, with true antiquarian zeal (we will not give it a harsh name), had actually delved with spade and pickaxe in the bosom of that lonely hill, in search of the king's crown and other treasures which are believed by the peasantry to be deposited somewhere in that spot. But all in vain; that fortunate discovery is reserved for the members of an archæological congress!

We pass on from this part of our subject to consider the manner of Ethelred's death.

"Per manus Dacorum," would imply that he died of wounds received in conflict with these enemies of his country: it is, however, singular, if such were indeed the fact, that neither Saxon Chronicle, nor Asser, nor Æthelward, who was his kinsman, make any mention of it. He who first attributes the King's death to wounds received in battle is John of Brompton, followed (dubiously) by Higden, and by the Brut Chronicle; the rest of the old chroniclers are silent on the point. Later historians, as Fabyan, Polydore Vergil, Camden, and Speed, are unanimous in their affirmation of the fact, yet we fail to see on what authority their statement is founded. William of Malmesbury and Ingulph of Croyland distinctly assert that he died harassed and worn out by his exertions in the numerous battles in

* "Ancient Wilts," by Sir R. C. Hoare.

† *Ibid.*, Woodyatts tumuli.

which he had been engaged. As a climax, it has even been surmised that he died of the plague;* a notion that originated in a faulty interpretation of the text of the Saxon Chronicle, wherein the word *Somerlida* is used—a word susceptible of various meanings, as, a “pestilence,” a “cessation of hostilities during the summer;” the latter being the most probable sense of the expression, as applied to the Danish army, which having fallen back upon Reading after the battle of Meretune, remained there in rest during the summer.

Lastly, we must notice a statement we find in Camden and repeated by Rapin, viz., that “he was slain in battle with the Danes at Wittingham.” Speed also states “he died at Wittingham of his wound received the three and zoth day of April, in the yeare of our Lord God 872,” etc.; a statement so completely new in respect to all previous authorities, that we should be glad to discover from what other source it was derived, but no clue is afforded us.

There is, however, a village five miles north of Wimborne and in the direct line from Martin, called Wichampton, which is said to be the place where Ethelred breathed his last. There have been found indications of an ancient monastic building in that village, but of which no other memorial is known; and it may be argued with some show of probability that the statement made by those historians was the embodiment of a tradition still lingering round that desecrated spot. That Ethelred should retire upon Wimborne, in the neighbourhood of which, either at Kingston Lacy or at Badbury, the West Saxon kings are said to have had their palace, is a reasonable supposition. Faint, then, and exhausted, suffering, it may be, from a mortal wound, the King found himself unable to reach his own residence, so stopped at that holy house by the way, and never left it again alive.

Of Ethelred's piety there can be no doubt,† but we have failed to discover the authority by which posterity have made a martyr of him, since he does not enjoy that honourable distinction in the

* Rapin, vol. i., p. 89, with reference to a note in Spelman's “Life of Alfred.” See also the “History of Britain,” by John Milton.

† Cf. Asser's “Annals” and Fabyan's “Chronicle.” His piety was not sufficiently tempered with discretion. In this respect his character presents a striking contrast to that of his brother Alfred, who was pre-eminently a man of action as well as religious principle. This receives a remarkable illustration in an incident related by Asser. When they were about to attack the Danish army at Ashdown (*Æsces-dun*), it is said that Alfred came quickly to the field, but Ethelred remained in his tent engaged in prayer and hearing mass; and declared he would not leave it alive before the priest had finished, nor forsake the service of God for that of man. Their arrangements for the attack had been agreed upon, but Ethelred continued so long at his devotions that the enemy gained an advantage of the ground. Alfred, who was then subordinate to his brother, could resist no longer the alternative of retreating or of falling upon their ranks before the King's arrival on the field; therefore, relying on the Divine guidance and help, he pressed forward, and no doubt mainly contributed to the victory won that day by the Saxons.

English Calendar. It was probably an honour conferred by popular acclamation.

At the enlargement of Mr. Bankes's vault, which extends under the presbytery, in 1837, the workmen exhumed in the north-east corner, near the original site of the altar, and about two feet under ground, the skeleton of a man, that measured as it lay 6 feet 4 inches. This spot is at some distance west of that now indicated by the brass on the floor as the situation of Ethelred's grave; for the presbytery is said to have been considerably lengthened, previously to which the altar stood much nearer the choir. There is no great improbability in the conjecture that those may have been the bones of Ethelred.

DR. T. W. W. SMART, M.R.C.P., etc.

St. Guthlake's Cross.

[1759, pp. 570, 571.]

As Camden and other learned antiquarians have made mention of the inscription on St. Guthlake's Cross, which stands upon the side of a bank, and was a boundary of the church lands belonging to the abbey of Croyland, but not one of them, as I remember, has given a draught of it, I have sent you a very accurate one to be disposed of as you think proper.

Yours, E. A.

It is of so great antiquity, that the year of its erection is unknown to the learned; however, the following citation from Dugdale's "History of Imbanking and Drayning," p. 210, plainly ascertains the area :

"Though other boundaries," says this very learned author, "is by Edred, King of Great Britain, thus described (in the year of Christ's incarnation, DCCCXLIII.), viz., from the triangular bridge at Crouland, by the river of Weland towards Spalding, unto Asendike, where Asendike falleth into the river of Weland, on the north part of a certain cross of stone, there erected by Abbot Turketill, who had been this king's chancellor, and so upwards to the east, by Asendick to Aswictost."

The cross stands at this very day in the place here described, and always has stood by Asendike drain that falls into the river of Weland. If this is a true discovery of the date of this stone, as no one can doubt such an incontestible quotation, one may venture to pronounce, without the imputation of rashness, that few religious boundaries in England can boast of greater antiquity.



Scandinavian Antiquities.



SCANDINAVIAN ANTIQUITIES.

On the Immigration of the Scandinavians into Leicestershire.

[1853, *Part II.*, pp. 569-578.]

HOW long the mixed Roman-British population occupied the district now known as the county of Leicester undisturbed we do not know; but it would almost seem that for a century and a half they remained here, subject to the occasional irruptions of the barbarous hordes of North Britain. The Saxons and Angles—a people from the northern part of what is now the kingdom of Hanover—had been making inroads and settling in our land from about the year 450 to 550. The Angles seized upon this part of the country, and, it can scarcely be doubted, colonized our town and county, either subjugating the inhabitants and making them their slaves, or expelling them from the soil. I am inclined to think the former, because the surrounding territories were already occupied by earlier Germanic settlers.

It requires no great mental effort to believe that between the years 600 and 700 all the villages in this neighbourhood having a Saxon or Anglian origin were established. The wide extent to which the Angles colonized our county may be inferred from the fact, that of the 400 and odd villages and hamlets now existing, about 317 have names clearly traceable to that people. Nor does the circumstance that the town was inhabited by a mixed race, the descendants of Romans, Roman Britons, and Roman auxiliaries, detract from the general inference that the mass of the people in this quarter were Anglo-Saxons; for it must be remembered that the Roman garrison, with its concomitant population, was withdrawn in the early part of the fifth century—that irruptions of barbarians from North Britain had at times, probably, either slain many of the remainder, or driven them away in terror from the place, and that we are not certain whether others were not themselves of Germanic origin. The

Anglian or Saxon elements of the population must have largely preponderated, leaving very few traces of the earlier foreign colonists in the borough of Leicester.

But the Saxons were not fated to remain undisturbed themselves on the soil they had conquered. They had scarcely been settled here three centuries before a hardier and fiercer race invaded them in their turn. These were the seafaring people from the shores of Denmark—the Danes. The first notice of their hostile visits occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the date 787, followed by another under the date 793, where they are described as “Northmen and heathens, destroyers of God’s churches.” They came across the sea in numberless boats, and were headed by leaders called Vikings. They anchored at the mouths of the rivers, and lay about the islands on the coasts. They often sought the Wash in Lincolnshire, and usually followed the course of the large rivers, with their principal tributaries, into the inner parts of the country. It is not our purpose to detail their successive movements and occasional defeats. We have only to deal with broad and ultimate facts; and therefore it is enough to state that towards the latter part of the ninth century, about the year 900, the Danes became masters of this district, the town itself falling into their hands, and that they occupied both, with occasional interruptions, until the conquest of England by the Normans. We have also existing evidence of Danish occupancy, like that remaining relative to the Anglo-Saxons, namely, the traces of their rural settlements.

On an analysis of the names of the villages of this county, it is found that eighty-seven are of Danish or Danish-Norwegian derivation. It seems that all ending in *by* or *thorpe* are of this class: the syllable *by* in the old Norse language meant at first a single farm, afterwards a town in general; the word *thorpe* in the same tongue designates a collection of houses separated from some principal estate. Now there are in Leicestershire sixty-six places ending in *by*, and nineteen in *thorpe*.

From a glance at a map of Leicestershire, anyone will perceive that the grouping of the settlements of the Northmen is not accidental and undesigned. Take, for example, those in Framland. The very name of the hundred, given to it undoubtedly by the Anglo-Saxons, would seem to designate the district; for, as in some parts of England to this day strangers are known as “*frem* folks,” it is not unlikely the people living in this county, when the Danes settled in it, would give to the district the name of the *frem* land, or the land of the foreigners; and assuredly it and the contiguous ground on the south bank of the Wreke (now in East Goscote) would well deserve the designation, the largest proportion of *bys* and *thorpes* in the county being here met with. The district was chosen by the pirate-foreigners, and appropriated by them, and for a good reason—

it suited their purpose admirably, and would remind them of their home scenery.

The great avenue to the heart of England for the Northmen was formed by the rivers Humber and Trent, the latter emptying into the former near Burton in North Lincolnshire. When they had conquered that county (which would appear to have been their earliest achievement), they would find the Trent to answer the purpose which the Midland Railway now serves to the Midlands as a highway of communication. Having further made Nottingham and Derby their own, they seem to have next entered the Soar where it empties itself into the Trent, and stealing on in their light barks, bivouacking on the banks when they halted, they reached the embouchure of the Wreke. Having turned into this stream, with its fair sloping banks and its elevated ridges, they were tempted to make it their own. Hence we find, a few miles up the stream on the left bank, the village of Rearsby, and on the same side, a mile or two further on, Brookesby and Rotherby, opposite to Hoby on the right side of the stream, and a little further on, Frisby and Kirby, with Asfordby on the other side, and yet nearer to Melton, Sysonby, and Kettleby; and, following the Wreke in its continuation with the Eye, there are Brentingby, Freeby, and Wiverby, with outlying thorpes.

This, I take it, is alike the line and very much the order of the Scandinavian inroad into our county. The Soar and the Wreke were their turnpikes, and, these settlements being established, it is not improbable the feeders of these rivers on both sides were next entered by subsequent parties of these adventurers. On a rivulet branching from the Soar is Sibleby; on other rivulets emptying into the Wreke are Shouldby and Saxulby on the north side, and Barkby, Barsby, Gaddesby, Ashby Folville, and Little Dalby, on the south side. Nor do I doubt that nine hundred or a thousand years ago these brooks, however shallow and narrow now, would be then, in most cases, periodically navigable by the canoes of the Northmen, leading to the larger streams as our village lanes do to the highways, and affording to them channels of communication either for hasty flight or for concerted action with their compatriots of the district.

The remark made with reference to the Wreke groups of settlements will be found also to apply to the Soar and its tributaries south of Leicester, where we find Blaby and Kilby, Lubbesthorpe (the village of Lubba) and Enderby, Normanton (Northmantown) hall and Elmesthorpe, and Kirkby, Primethorpe and Ashby Parva, Arnesby and Shearsby, all near to rivulets; but when we approach the more purely Anglo-Saxon shires of Northampton and Warwick, and leave the streams in connexion with the Soar and the Wreke, we find the bys are also left behind. We then enter on a country where the Northman would have found himself overmatched, and where

his bark could not safely carry him through the meadows occupied by the stout Saxon thanes and farmers.

It may here be appropriate to show the relative position occupied by the neighbouring counties to our own, with respect to the character of their populations. To the north of us are Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Here (according to a table given in the highly valuable and interesting work of the Danish antiquary, Worsaae*) we find altogether forty-seven Danish-Norwegian places, namely, thirty-six in the former, and eleven in the latter. In Lincolnshire and Rutland, on the east of our county, are 292 and eight respectively, Lincolnshire being composed of a preponderating Scandinavian population. So marked is the contrast between Leicestershire and Warwickshire, which are divided by the ancient boundary (the Watling Street) that was set up to separate the Danelagh from the Saxon part of Mercia, that while in this county the Scandinavian colonists had eighty-seven abiding-places, in Warwickshire they had only three!

How the Anglo-Saxons and Danes settled down ultimately, history does not exactly inform us; but the Danes were all settled in one quarter and the earlier occupiers in another. Intermarriages with the females of the Saxon race must have led to the Anglicising of the population in the eastern, midland, and northern districts of the country; though the Scandinavian blood was far too plentiful to permit of its absorption in the veins of the Anglian and mixed populations, and plentiful enough to ensure for it the decided perpetuation of the Danish element.

Every reader of our national history knows that some of the monarchs were Danes, and that there was finally a kind of political fusion, if there was not a blending of races, before the Norman conquest. That great event is generally supposed to have fairly confounded Anglo-Saxon and Dane in a common calamity, obliterating all traces of their individualities as separate peoples. This idea deserves examination, and therefore we will pause before it for a brief space.

The subjugation of England by William Duke of Normandy was not effected readily and in a brief space of time. The battle of Hastings, however disastrous to the Anglo-Danish inhabitants, was not, strictly speaking, conclusive in its effect; for the large towns and districts required afterwards to be conquered in detail; and it appears that the process varied in different parts of England. In the south, where the ancient mixed races and the Anglo-Saxons dwelt, the population was fairly beaten and enslaved; in the Midlands we have reason for believing that the Anglo-Danes were brought under the Normans' sway by means of negotiation and military power combined; in the North of England the opposition raised to his banner

* "The Danes and Northmen in England."

by the Danish-Norwegian settlers was uncompromising and deadly. In the latter case, therefore, the struggle was for life and death. William was the victor, and he then made Northumbria a shambles, and left it a desert.

I infer that the negotiations of the Conqueror had some part in the "pacification" of the Midlands, from the facts recorded in the "Domesday Book" relative to the number of freeholders existing in various counties when that record was taken. It is evident that had the population been subjugated in a mass by William, there would have been only two classes—the few conquerors and the many conquered; but we find that in the Danish counties of Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, an intermediate class of persons was at that time established, known as "sokemen," whose tenure of their lands was not, strictly speaking, servile. They resemble the modern copyholders, their farms passing by inheritance to their sons, they paying certain rents and performing certain feudal duties, the feudal lord having no power beyond this over their property. Now the numbers of "sokemen" in each of the counties named was as follows:

Lincolnshire	11,322
Leicestershire	1,716
Nottinghamshire	1,565
Derbyshire	127

At this time the town of Leicester had undergone a fearful change. We have already noticed that the Northmen captured it about the year 900; they held it for twenty or thirty years, when Ethelflæda, the Mercian queen, dispossessed them. For a few years it was in Saxon hands, and then it passed to the Danes again, until the year 940, when the Saxons once more held it until the year 1013, about seventy years. Again the Danes became its masters for twenty-eight years, and then the Saxons resumed possession until the Conquest, when the havoc made in the place, on the siege by the Norman army, reduced it to ruin, and its male inhabitants appear either to have been slain in the conflict or to have fled elsewhere.

A summary of the different classes mentioned in "Domesday Book" (published in Curtis's "Leicestershire") affords us some insight into the nature of the different races found here when the survey was taken. The entire number of persons for this county is 6,415; but they are possibly the male adults only. Of these, the chief proprietors numbering 52, the knights and thanes 27, the ecclesiastics and priests 34, the principal tenants under them 101, may be set down as Normans—altogether 214; the sokemen 1,716, burgesses 371, and bailiffs 9, in the whole 2,096, were probably Anglo-Danish; the villans (half slaves), numbering 2,446, were, it may be, mainly Anglo-Saxon; and the bordars (1,285), with the serfs proper the most abject and miserable order of beings, 374, were, I

assume, the descendants of the ancient Celtic, Romanized British, and mixed races, who had for centuries been enslaved, and were kept on a farm in the same way as the cattle were treated—beasts of burden, having no property in or out of themselves, and fed and littered in sheds with the swine and oxen of the landowner.

The relative proportions of the races (if this estimate be correct, being based on the presumption that, after the Conquest, every class of the natives pressed that below it a degree lower) would be thus : Normans 214, Anglo-Danes 2,096, Anglo-Saxons 2,446, the mixed Celtic inhabitants 1,659. Supposing these numbers to represent the relative proportions of the races, there would appear to have been three of the Scandinavian and Saxon races to one of the ancient population ; or, to make the calculation in another form, three in every hundred of the inhabitants were of Norman, thirty-three of Danish, thirty-eight of Anglo-Saxon, and twenty-six of mixed Celtic derivation.

After the Norman Conquest no fresh immigrations of foreigners took place into this county worthy of notice. The races gradually settled down into classes ; the Norman probably representing the aristocracy, the Danish the gentry and yeomen, the Saxon the burgher population and farmers, and the Celtic race the labourers and slaves of the villages. These, of course, would be the general facts ; exceptions to them there would undoubtedly be, but, in the main, I think they may be relied on.

It may be argued that all traces of distinctive origin would soon be lost, from the operation of two causes, the frequent intermarriage of the representatives of the races with each other, and the migration of people from one site to another. To this I reply that the alliance of persons of different races and stations would be far more unlikely in the centuries immediately following the Conquest than it is now, when social distinctions are relaxed. The Norman, always haughty, and doubly so when he had become a conqueror, looking on all around him as his vassals and serfs, was little likely to wed the Rowena of his neighbourhood, however fair her complexion, and blue her eye, and comely her countenance ; the Danish gentleman was somewhat akin to, and perhaps imitated his feudal superior in this respect ; and the Saxon farmer would be equally repelled from an alliance with his bondwoman. The intermarriages between Dane and Saxon were, however, more likely, from a variety of reasons ; but the pride of station, and not totally extinct hatred of race, would long cause all the classes to hold aloof from each other.

With regard to the removal of persons from one district to another, this, in the early part of the Middle Ages, was almost impossible, as the land, like a loadstone, held all to its surface. The servile classes could not, dared not, venture from the estate on which they toiled, and, in fact, could not be alienated, for they were sold with an estate

in the same way as the trees were. The villeins or farmers were hereditary tenants, and bound by various restrictions to their farms. The gentry were virtually the owners of the estates, subject to military service to the great baron, their suzerain. And the lords of highest rank lived on their principal manors in their castles. In the town of Leicester (as in all other boroughs) the state of circumstances varied, as will be explained hereafter.

About a hundred years after the Conquest several of the large castles here referred to were standing. In an agreement made between Ralph Earl of Chester and Robert Earl of Leicester, in the year 1151, the castles of Mountsorrel and Ravenstone are referred to; but there were others besides these, as at Belvoir, Sauvey near Withcot, Whitwick, Shilton, Hinckley, Groby, Donington, Melton, Seagrave, Thorpe Arnold, and Leicester. Of these, four were founded (according to Burton) by the Norman Earl of Leicester, two by Grantmesnil the lord of Hinckley, and the others by lesser barons.

It is impossible to trace lineally even the feudal barons and their chief tenants from the time of the Norman Conquest; for surnames were not yet adopted, and, when they were, the large landowners took the names of their estates,—members of the same family being known by different names. But heraldry here steps in to aid us in identifying families and discerning relationships. The science of blazonry does not appear to have been reduced to a system before the Crusades, or between the years 1150 and 1200. At that date every baron, and knight, and gentleman of estate, had his shield of arms. The ancient Earls of Leicester used a cinquefoil ermine on a red ground, as we see it at the present day in the arms of the borough of Leicester. To their principal tenants (who in war were bound to assemble at their summons, and to serve under their leading), they granted the privilege of copying their shields, the heralds making a difference in the colours of the cinquefoil and the ground. Of these families, traces of twenty at least may be met with in ancient records, histories, and the painted glass of our village churches. The principal names are Mortival, Astley, Villiers, Bardolfe, Maureward, Caltoft, Hauberk, Angerville, Clifton, Hoton, Turville, Hamilton, and Walshall. A smaller number also held under the Lords Albany of Belvoir Castle, including Charnels, Kerriell, Rohand, and Staunton. In addition to these are the names of d'Anvers, Ashby, Bassett, Beaumont, Belgrave, Burdett, Farnham, Harcourt, Seagrave, Satchville, Temple, Wichard, Zouch, and others.

These, or most of these, are the names of knights and gentlemen either of Norman origin or descent, who had possessions in Leicestershire as early as the Conquest, or not later than two centuries after that event; and most jealously did they avoid in their family alliances any supposed deterioration of blood or breeding.

At the same time the inhabitants of the borough were multiplying

under the operation of influences strongly adverse to indiscriminate admixtures of race. From the circumstance that the tribute paid to the Conqueror by the inhabitants of Leicester, when the Survey was taken, was reckoned in Danish money, it is to be inferred that the dominant portion of the inhabitants were of that origin. But it matters little to our inquiry what they were, as, not more than a century and quarter after, the townspeople were compelled to leave the place in a mass, after a siege by the army of Henry the Second, —some settling at St. Albans, and others at Edmundsbury. The descendants of the original Leicestrians are therefore to be sought (if there be any remote chance of finding them) in those places.

This event happened in the year 1173. In or before the year 1196 the town appears to have been populated afresh,—from what quarter it is not clear. But we have a record extant of that date which will give us some insight into the matter. It is the most ancient preserved among the town archives. It is the roll of the merchant guild: and gives the names of all who entered into the guild, or body of burgesses, in the year last named, when King John had only recently ascended the throne. The names number not more than seventy.

A considerable proportion of these (if names may guide us) are purely Scandinavian; at a rough guess, we may say one-third; so that, from whatever quarter the new inhabitants were collected—whether they were the expelled burgesses or persons from other towns and the surrounding rural districts—the races were proportioned to each other, apparently, as they had been previously.

But two facts testify as to the preponderating influence and numerical prevalence of the Northmen in this borough within the centuries immediately succeeding the Norman Conquest. The first of these is the existence at that date of the custom of duelling in cases of disputed possession of property. The second is the mode of succession to lands and houses then in operation.

Now it is well known that to nothing do races of mankind more pertinaciously cling than to the customs they inherit from their ancestors, especially those relating to property. These became part of their life, their polity, their very being. Hence, in nothing is the influence of race more clearly and undeniably shown, for generation after generation, than in the customs of a people. If there be one usage more decidedly traceable to the Scandinavian colonists than another it is the duel, or holme-gang, as it was called, from the circumstance of the combatants meeting on a holme or island, and there, by an appeal to the sword, deciding their controversy—a mode of settlement so natural to a proud, high-spirited, and warlike, but unchristian race. This custom we have the high authority of Worsaae for attributing to the Danish-Norwegians.

It was in force in Leicester during the earldom of Robert de

Beaumont, at the commencement of the twelfth century. I have introduced the example into the history of Leicester, as it was recorded by certain jurors, who, in the year 1252, were appointed to investigate the origin of a local payment called "gavelpennies." [See Note 32.] The circumstances were touching, and the pathos of the story shines through the dust which centuries have shed on the mouldering parchment, now lying among its congeners in our muniment room. The combatants were of Scandinavian origin, as their names—Nicholas Aconson and Geoffrey Nicholson—imply, and they were kinsmen. They had prolonged the duel from early morning until after noon, when one seeing the other about to fall into a pit, in a moment of compassion cautioned his opponent of his danger, and the bystanders raised a shout at the incident, which drew the Norman earl from his castle adjoining. The interference of the leading burgesses then led to an interview with him and to the discontinuance of the duel, — and to the institution of the trial by jury. Thenceforward the milder and more civilized custom prevailed.

With reference to the succession to property, we are told that the Vikings of the North were wont to send their elder sons to sea, and in search of a fortune, while the youngest son would inherit the patrimony. When they had changed their mode of life, they still adhered to the usage. Now it is recorded that up to the time of Simon de Montfort this custom was observed in Leicester; but that celebrated baron gave his burgesses here a charter abolishing it, and substituting for it the law of primogeniture, at their earnest request.

In the borough, every burgess possessed privileges which he would not readily forfeit by removing elsewhere, to a place where he would have to acquire others by purchase. The prejudices of race largely conduced, also (as we have seen), to the preservation of the population from an indiscriminate or extended intermingling, while the circumstances in which the classes were situated prevented their frequent removal from place to place.

As instances in proof of the latter statement, it would not be difficult to show cases in which the families of the cultivators of the soil have held their farms for centuries in succession; while in boroughs we know that the possessors of guild privileges—such as exemption from toll, permission to carry on business, eligibility to enjoy civic honours—have transmitted to their descendants for generations the enjoyment of those privileges. I could adduce an example, from my own inquiries, of a family of the middle class being enabled to trace, for nearly two centuries and a half, the inheritance of these local advantages. In Leicester the family of Wigston (one of whom founded the hospital bearing his name), and of a subsequent date that of Heyrick, are striking instances of the perpetuation of town families for generations on the same spot; but

they were paralleled by the mass of the free population of the town, though in a less obvious and discoverable way.

Yet there were causes for the breaking up the social castes created by the feudal system after the Conquest, and for the mixing of the population. Principal among these may be enumerated the Civil Wars of the 15th and 17th centuries. During the prevalence of what are called the "Wars of the Roses," the ancient Norman families were, it is known, in some cases almost extirpated. The contest was one, indeed, of mutual extermination among the aristocracy and the gentry of Norman origin; nor did this county prove an exception to the rule. Besides, old families of this race became extinct from natural causes, and degenerated and dissolved from the influence of the division of property.

Of the way in which the old Norman families degenerated, became impoverished, and in time obscure, Burton, the topographer, gives an instance in his history of the county, published in the year 1622. He says:

"Sir Robert Woodford, knight, had issue Thomas, who died in the life of his father, leaving issue John, Walter, Humfrey, Rafe, and John, among which five sons the said Sir Robert Woodford, in the twenty-sixth of Henry VI. (being very old), divided all his lands. To John, the eldest son of the said Thomas Woodford, his son, he gave his manor of Sproxton and lands in Wiggenhall and Titney, in the county of Norfolk, and lands in Easton and South Stoke, in the county of Lincoln."

And then Burton enumerates how all the estates were parcelled out among the remainder of the five sons; following up the recital with a few pathetic reflections:

"By reason of which division so made that ancient family (which had continued long in great account, estate, and livelihood), was in short space utterly decayed and gone, and, as I have heard, not any part of these lands (thus disposed) to be now in the tenure or name of any heir male descended from any of these five brothers; and some of the males lived to be brought to a very low ebb of fortune. The like instances may be given of others in this shire, and of too many in other counties. . . . A lamentable thing (proceeds Burton) it is to see an ancient house so rent in pieces, and the heir to be wronged without desert, thereby disabled ever to maintain the honour or reputation of his ancestors. That families have their times and periods is most certain, yet wretched and vile are they by whom such disastrous accidents are wrought."

At the Reformation, too, great changes were effected in the ownership of the soil, by the dissolution of the religious houses. The property of the Church, obtained by priestly craft from the nobles and gentry before the Reformation, then found its way again to the hands of the laity; and in this county, as all over England, instances occur

of the wealthier citizens and burgesses becoming incorporated with the aristocracy from the time of Edward III., when the middle classes visibly grew in wealth and importance. Consequently, the privileged races by degrees recruited their numbers by accessions from the Anglo-Danish and Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of cities and towns, but not to a large extent.

Between the fifteenth century and the present day the tendency to the effacing of all differences of race has been growing more powerful in every succeeding generation, owing to the abolition of the feudal system, of class privileges, and of civic monopolies, and to the yearly-increasing facilities for locomotion. Society has everywhere become less stationary, and caste influences less binding and operative. But even yet the pride of birth and race lives, and our municipal institutions favour fixed residence; while our settlement laws and agricultural tenures are preventatives to a rapid fusion of the rural population of different districts.

I now come to the second head of our inquiry, What traces exist among us of the ancient races?

The facts on these heads arrange themselves variously. The population settled in this district eight centuries ago would transmit to their descendants proofs of their former existence here, and of their permanent influence. We should expect to hear traditions of them; to learn that once prevalent customs yet lingered among us; to find ancient remains of them; to see ancient family names kept up; and to trace physiognomical and craniological peculiarities to the present day, and to detect in dialects something of the language of the original races. But at present minute ethnology is imperfectly studied and understood; it is a nascent rather than a developed science. I have therefore to contend with difficulties at present insuperable in the satisfactory prosecution of this inquiry.

It is certain that traditions of the Danes have survived the lapse of time. Near Leicester the Dane Hills remind us of the presence of that once terrible ravaging host, and from childhood some inhabitants have been taught to think that the irregularities of the surface on that site indicate the burial-places of those who fell in a combat with the victorious natives; and, though the hills and hollows there discernible are probably but the remains of exhausted stone quarries, worked since the Norman Conquest, a battle may yet have taken place on the site, in which the Northmen encountered the Saxons of Leicester.

The old and now obsolete custom of the "Whipping Toms"* has also been derived from the expulsion of the Danes from Leicester by the Saxon inhabitants, the waggoners having used their heavy whips and the labourers their flails in the affray.

Among supposed remains of the Danes I am induced to class the large tumulus at Ratcliffe known as "Shipley Hill," and which the

* Described in our Magazine for July last, p. 32. [See Note 33.]

unlettered peasantry say covers the remains of a formerly famous Captain Shipley. But the name speaks for itself: it signifies in the Saxon the "ship meadow," from the resemblance of the hill to a ship turned keel upwards. A similar example occurs in another county, but the name has reference merely to the site. Looking at the nearness of the tumulus to the Wreke—scarcely two miles from the spot where it empties itself into the Soar, and just at the entrance to the district of the Scandinavian settlements on both banks of the Wreke—I think it far from improbable that here was once fought some general engagement between the Anglian population and the Danish intruders, the tumulus being at once a burial-place and a memorial of the event.

The cross in Rothley churchyard is also an interesting relic of the Scandinavian settlement. It is certainly attributable to that people, and denotes the last resting-place of some Danish chieftain, a convert to Christianity, whose monument was erected either in the tenth or eleventh century. There are no runes, or Danish characters, upon it; but this may be owing to the association of magical influence with the employment of those singular marks, which an adoption of Christianity might lead the Northman sculptor to reject as heathenish.

In addition to these remains of the Scandinavians, I am induced to add the encampments at Ratby, Ingarsby, and Humberstone. It is certain that Ratby speaks for itself as a "cleared place near a settlement," and it occupies just such a position for an advanced outpost of the Danes, with a decidedly Anglian frontier before them, as they might be expected to establish. Ingarsby may have been the post occupied by Ingvar (one of the sons of the famous Regnar Lodbrog), when he and his brother Hubba subjugated the Midlands about the middle of the ninth century. Humberston may be a corruption of Hubba's tun, or the settlement of Ingvar's brother; and the embankments and fosse near that village, known now as Swann's Orchard, are perchance the relics of a site whence that fearless Northman once issued, to join with his equally fearless brother in many an onslaught on the terrified inhabitants.

Leaving these conjectures, I now enter on surer grounds of proof that we have evidence among us of the descendants of ancient races, to be recognised in the surnames they bear. Before adducing these instances I would, however, premise that surnames are not of themselves unfailing evidence of descent. It is not every bearer of a Norman name whose ancestors were Normans; for such names have been often assumed unwarrantably, and have been conferred by lords on their vassals. Accuracy in these cases is only to be determined by the researches of the genealogist, confirmed by the craniologist and the physiognomist. Still, we have yet in Leicestershire (as elsewhere) unquestionable representatives of the old Norman knights and soldiers who fought under William's banner at Hastings. Among

these I class the Mannerses, the Turvilles, the Nevilles, the Belgraves, the Pagets, the Bassetts, and some few others. The tall, sinewy forms, aquiline noses, dark-grey or hazel eyes, and dignified bearing of some of the bearers of these chivalrous names, attest the justice of the classification. The Norwegian-Danish Erics or Heyricks still also bear evidence of the presence in our county of the descendants of that race; while many names in the middle and lower classes are as purely Danish as those used at this day in Denmark. Upon this point we have the testimony of Worsaae. As that gentleman acutely and widely observed what came before him in his visit, with the eye of a native Dane and a learned antiquary, his statements have here a peculiar value. He states that in the midland and northern counties of England he frequently met with old Scandinavian national names, such as Thorkil, Erik, Halden, Harold, Else, and others; but yet more frequently with such as Adamson, Jackson, Johnson, Nelson, Thomson, Stevenson, Swainson, and so forth. The termination in "son" or "sön" is, he says, quite peculiar to the countries of Scandinavia, and is never found in Saxon names. It was introduced into England by the Danish and Norwegian settlers; and he adds that the name of Johnson, one of the commonest among us, is that which, even at the present day, occurs most frequently in Iceland. He says, moreover, that in the districts here alluded to he saw every moment, especially in the rural parts, faces exactly resembling those at home. Had he met the same persons in Denmark or Norway, it would never have entered his mind they were foreigners; in Northumberland this was remarkably the case—the rather broad faces, slightly projecting cheek-bones, rather flat and in some cases upturned noses, light eyes and hair, and compact, middle-sized frames, reminding him of the Danes and Norwegians of the present day, who are descended from a common ancestry, who contrast strongly with south Englanders. The temper, too, of the people in the north of this country and the south seemed to Worsaae to be opposite: the northern Englishman is, he remarks, firmer and harder, bordering on the severe, possessing an unusually strong feeling of freedom. He cites the case of the "tetchy" and hasty, but determined and independent Yorkshireman, as a contrast to that of the softer and more compliant Englishman of the southern counties. Of the Saxon or Anglian element, so near akin to the Danish, we have many evidences in the county in the surnames, physiognomies, temper, and habits of the population. As a rule, the surnames are taken from trades and occupations, from the villages whence the first bearers of them immigrated into borough towns, from bodily peculiarities, and from accidental circumstances. Hence, I think, we may class the Bakers, Butchers, Coopers, Dyers, Farmers, Falconers, Gunners, Goldsmiths, Ironmongers, Moneyers, Mercers, Painters, Quilters, Smiths, Spicers (the ancient word for grocer), Taverners, Vintners, Wheelers (or Wheelwrights), Wrights,

and many other words signifying trades or occupations, with the Saxon race; as well as those which are known to us as names of villages, such as Frisby, Kilby, Wigston, Brooksby, and others; though in the latter instance there are families of Norman origin who took their names from their estates, and whose pedigrees are traceable from Norman or very early times, as the Belgraves, Ashbys, Skeffingtons, Farnhams, and so forth. Among the persons of Saxon descent may be found, also (as already suggested), the Thins and the Thicks, the Longs and the Shorts, the Biggs and the Littles, the Greats (or Greets) and the Smalls, the Proudman and the Meeks, the Whites and the Blacks, the Browns and the Greens, the Greys and the Oranges, with Wrynecks, Greatheads, Hands, Legges, and others too numerous to mention. Many of these are, in some parts of England, to be found associated with persons in the classes of the gentry and nobility, either owing to their own or their ancestors' energy and fortune.

We believe the Saxon type of bodily configuration in most respects resembles the Scandinavian, except that those who possess it are generally lower in stature, have often larger hands and feet, a bluer eye, a fairer complexion, have auburn or flaxen hair, and are more inclined to corpulency. In character they are "slow but sure," patient, humane, industrious, unobtrusive, moderate in most respects, practical and not showy; in short, they manifest the distinctive dispositions and qualities of the average English character. Of the old Celtic races, dark hair and eyes, low stature, a slight frame, a quick and impulsive disposition, a naturally polite and smooth demeanour, a gay temper, a ready perception, are supposed to be some of the prevailing evidences. They preponderate more in the cities and the large towns than in the villages; it is in the latter where the intermixture of races, is less obvious.

Of the dialects of Leicestershire, ethnologically considered, little can at present be advanced. In the county town, and at Loughborough, the word "gate" still in various instances indicates a street (in accordance with old Scandinavian usage); but, on looking over Dr. Evans's work on "Leicestershire Words and Phrases," I find few if any of the words from the Norse language common in the north of England. This I attribute to the rev. doctor's collection, having been mainly derived from south-western or Anglian Leicestershire; but I learn that the Christmas block (elsewhere called the yule log) still burns on the hearth at Christmas in the farmhouses in Framland hundred, and a fragment is carried away to be consumed entirely when the hospitable season returns, just as was probably the wont among those who settled on the banks of the Wreke a thousand years bygone. [See Note 34.]

JAMES THOMPSON.

Discovery of Norse Remains in Orkney.

[1863, *Part II.*, p. 336.]

A most interesting discovery has recently been made in Westray, Mr. Farrer, M.P., who is indefatigable in his researches, having fortunately fallen upon what appear to be the unmistakable remains of a mailed Norse warrior and his horse. The labourers engaged under his direction in removing sand from the lower part of the Links, east of Pierowall, in Westray, with the view to ascertain whether any graves yet remained undisturbed, discovered portions of the skeleton of a small horse, a fragment of the lower jaw of a human being in which were three teeth in good preservation, together with pieces of iron very much corroded, two iron buckles, several large nail-heads, and the half of what appeared to have been a bone button. The oak wood to which the iron had been attached is in most instances as hard as the iron itself. From the position in which the human jaw was found, it seems probable that the horse and the rider had fallen at the same moment. There was no appearance of any grave. The skeletons had obviously been left to decay where they fell, and the discovery of some pieces of iron a few yards further off suggests the probability of the bodies having been pulled to pieces by dogs, or birds of prey. A piece of bone, possibly the wrist-bone, adhered to the larger of the two buckles, but it crumbled away on being touched. The size of the nails and weight of the iron renders it doubtful whether the whole could have formed a shield, and it is not impossible that some of these iron relics may have belonged to the horse trappings. Sand had drifted over the remains, but there was no appearance of artificial interment. The horse was probably unshod; the horny parts of the hoofs had disappeared, but the bone beneath was in good preservation. No portion of iron was found near the hoofs. The skull of the horse was almost entirely decomposed. The sand covering the remains varied in depth from two to three feet. There is a tradition in Westray of a battle having been fought between the old inhabitants and the Norsemen at the place where the remains were found.—*Orkney Herald.*

Discovery of Ancient Graves in Deerness, Orkney.

[1861, *Part II.*, p. 37.]

A new hill farm in Deerness having been lately taken on lease by Mr. John Delday, farmer there, he has been actively bringing it under cultivation. In the course of his operations, he has discovered beneath the surface of the soil numerous traces of ancient buildings, and remains of stone vessels similar to those which are often found in the "broughs" or large round towers. The writer examined some of these relics; he saw also a stone so deeply notched at one end that when the other, which is very thick, is fixed in the ground, it forms a

strong stake. It was of a wedge shape, the notches being at the thin end, and the thick end having been evidently intended to be inserted in the ground. Similar stones have been frequently found in the broughs, and in the neighbourhood of their ruins. In some cases the notches or grooves had been much worn by a rope or other fastening. These ruins in Deerness are on the slope of a low hill; and on its summit are two "barrows" or grave mounds. The tenant of the farm has been carrying away the clay from one of those to another part of his farm. This led to the discovery that the barrow contained several kists or graves of various sizes, in which were quantities of burnt bones; and two rudely fashioned clay urns, also containing burnt bones, were found outside the kists. One of these was removed nearly whole, but was afterwards broken by a boy; the other was too fragile to be lifted, but was measured by the writer in its original position in the clay. It was 17 inches deep, 12 inches wide at the mouth, and 6 inches at the bottom, and its average thickness was above five-eighths of an inch.—*Northern Ensign*.

Discovery of Ancient Relics in Orkney.

[1858, *Part I.*, p. 542.]

A very important discovery of ancient silver relics has been made at Sandwick—perhaps one of the most extensive and important discoveries, in an archaeological point of view, that has ever been made in Scotland. The relics were discovered in a rabbit-hole. Some time ago a boy happened to pick up some silver coins which the rabbits had thrown out in the formation of their hole, and carried them home. The circumstance became known, and one day lately, as some people were waiting for the ebb of the tide, before proceeding with the work of gathering ware, one of their number proposed that they should visit the place where the boy had lately discovered the money. They accordingly went in a body to the spot, and at the first or second stroke of a warehook one of them drew out a large heap of silver. At the sight of the bright metal there was instantly a scramble among those present, and by one or other all of them were carried away. The circumstances coming afterwards to the ears of the authorities in Kirkwall, an investigation was made, and we are glad that the greater part of the treasure has been recovered, Sheriff Robertson and others, who interested themselves in recovering the property, having remunerated the finders. The relics are altogether several pounds in weight, and consist of massive pins, brooches, bracelets, necklaces, and other ornaments, beside some number of silver coins. The dates of the latter, and the supposed age of the ornaments, we have not ascertained, but we believe that both have been contemporaneous with the reign of the earliest kings in Scottish or Scandinavian history.—*John O'Groat Journal*.

Vitrified Forts of Scotland and the Orkneys.

[1831, *Part II.*, pp. 633-637.]

In our previous volumes we have occasionally noticed these curious remains of an unknown but distant period as being peculiar to Scotland. (See our vols. xciv. ii. 260; xcvi. i. 624, etc. [Note 35]). Considering the interest they are calculated to excite in the minds of the antiquary, the historian, and the philosopher, the following general disquisition, accompanied by some curious facts and recent discoveries, may not prove uninteresting.

By a vitrified fort (says Dr. Hibbert in the "Archæologia Scotica," vol. iv.) is implied an area of ground, often of a round or elliptical form, and evidently selected for some natural defence possessed by it, which is further protected by one or more inclosing ramparts, formed by stones; these stones showing, to a greater or less extent, marks of vitrification, by which they are cemented together. None of these vitrified forts exhibit, as from many writers we should be erroneously led to suppose, any regular masonry in their structure. Unhewn fragments of stones, and water-worn boulders, sometimes mingled with smaller gravel, appear in a quantity almost exceeding belief, following the contour of the summit of a mountain, or, as in the instance of a fort which is situated in the Kyles of Bute, following the contour of a small holm or islet, elevated a few yards only above the level of the sea; and in cases where, owing to the more exposed nature of the ground, a stronger defence is demanded, a double or even treble rampart of the same rude materials is added.

The vitrification which characterises these forts is, in some few of them, displayed to an extent that is perfectly astonishing; while in other instances it is with difficulty to be detected. In short, no two forts in their degrees of vitrification are in any respect conformable to each other; and it is of importance to add, that throughout Scotland similar forts appear, having no marks of vitrification whatever. These forts first met with scientific attention about half a century ago, when various theories were proposed to account for the origin of their vitrification, which theories may be reduced to the following heads:—

1. The notion that the vitrification observable in these forts was the result of volcanic agency.
2. The theory, that vitrification was artificially induced, as a cement for the consolidation of ramparts of loose stones.
3. The theory of Dr. Anderson, that vitrification was promoted by the employment of a peculiar vitrescible ore.
4. The theory of Lord Woodhouselee, that fire has not been employed in the construction, but towards the demolition of such forts as display the marks of vitrification.
5. The opinion that the vitrification of these forts was the result of beacon-fires.

This theory has met with many supporters, particularly among the contributors to St. John Sinclair's "Statistical Account of Scotland." But the most able advocate of this opinion is Sir George Mackenzie, of Coul, Bart., in an article on vitrified forts, written by him for Dr. Brewster's "Encyclopædia," and in his published letter addressed to Sir Walter Scott, on the vitrified fort of Knockfarril. The chief arguments for this opinion are, that the marks of fire are indicative of an accidental rather than of an intentional effect, and that vitrified forts are generally situated on lofty insulated hills, in such a chain or mutual connection as to allow of telegraphic communications to be conveyed from one station to another at a considerable distance.

In a communication read to the Philosophical Society of Manchester by Dr. Milligan, the author is of opinion that these beacon-fires were in use among the earliest inhabitants of Caledonia; and he supposes that, as the invasion of Agricola was attended by a fleet on the coast of Scotland, the fires seen in the interior of the country, which Tacitus describes as the flames of dwellings kindled by the inhabitants, might have been signal-fires communicating from hill to hill; as, for instance, from Stonehaven to Bute, where a line of vitrified forts may be traced; and that this telegraphic communication was the prelude of the battle of the Grampians. Various other writers, however, assign to these forts a much later date, particularly the contributors to Sir John Sinclair's "Statistical Reports." They conceive that they were in chief requisition as beacons during the descents of the Northmen, which lasted several centuries. This last opinion many, if not most, of the vitrified sites which have been examined tend greatly to support. The coasts of Scotland began to be annoyed by the predatory visits of the Vikings about the end of the eighth century; but it was not probably until the Scots had obtained a complete ascendancy over the Picts, by which both were united under one government, that systems of beacons were formed to provide against the sudden descents of the Scandinavians, who invaded them from the Danish or Norwegian shores, or from countries which they subsequently colonised, namely, from Shetland, Orkney, Caithness, Sutherland, the Hebrides, Ireland, or the Isle of Man. The Murray Frith, as we learn from ancient Sagas, was one of the most convenient landing-places for the Northmen; and hence we must look to this locality for the greatest proportion of vitrified sites. The number of such as have been traced within sight of each other, in a direction east to west from Banff to Dingwall, and in a direction north to south from Cromarty to Fort Augustus, may be estimated at twenty; but it is probable that their actual amount will be eventually found to be much more. Two vitrified eminences appear near Huntly, connected apparently with the line of coast extending from Kinnaird's Head to the mouth of the Dee. More south, a chain of vitrified sites, nine or ten in number appears to have conveyed signals from the line of coast which

stretches from Kincardine to the Tay, being prolonged from Stone haven or Dundee to the neighbourhood of Dunkeld or Crieff. On the west coast, again, we find similar vitrified sites at Bute, Cantire, Isla, Loch Etive, Loch Sunart, Fort William, or at Arisaig. The number which subsists on the west yet remains to be ascertained; about twelve have been enumerated. At Galloway, three occur, apparently as signals against the marauding colonists of Ireland.

At the hill of Cowdenknows, on the borders of Berwickshire, although its summit has been fortified, it is on the flank of this eminence, where little or no defence appears, but which commands the view of a considerable tract of country to the north and north-east, that a small cairn of vitrified stones is to be detected. In many other places, also, vitrification is rather to be observed on the unprotected side than upon the defended summit of a hill; which circumstances might lead us to suppose, that signals of alarm were often intended to be concealed from an invading enemy, with the design that a readier chance of success might be afforded to stratagems of repulsion or surprise.

Wallace, who wrote in the year 1700, has stated, that even at that late period "the people (of Orkney) had in every isle a wart-hill or ward-hill, which is the most conspicuous and elevated part of the isle, on which, in time of war, they keep ward; and when they see the enemies' ships approaching, they put a fire, thereby to give notice to the adjacent isles of the nearness of the enemy, and to advertise them to be on their guard, or to come to their help; this they distinguished by the *number* of fires."

Most of the vitrified forts show internal evidence of their having been in use for some such incidental purposes as beacon-signals. Where the stones which have received the full force of the fires appear of inconsiderable depth, a complete fusion of the part has taken place, but, in other examples, the fused matter has run among the stones in small streams. In almost every case vitrification appears in patches, the cementing process not being a continuous, but a very limited effect.

6. The probability that many of the sites in which vitrified remains occur were places of rendezvous for tribes or clans, upon all public occasions of peace or warfare.

7. The ancient densely-wooded state of Scotland, of which the number of vitrified sites, and the occasional intensity and extent of their vitrification, serve as indications.

The forests of Scotland, from the fifth to the fourteenth century, far exceeded in abundance or magnitude those of South Britain. Among the produce of them are enumerated the oak, the pine (*Pinus sylvestris* or Scots fir), the birch, the hazel, the broad-leaved or wych elm, the roan tree (or mountain ash), the common ash, the yew, the alder, the

trembling poplar (*Populus tremula*), the bird cherry (*Prunus padus*), and the saugh or sallow.

Keeping, then, this ancient wooded state of Scotland steadily in view, it is by no means illogical to extend rather than to limit the causes which would induce our ancestors in a country overspread with trees, where arable land was also much wanted, to allow the spoils of dense woods and thickets to be kindled upon every occasion of rejoicing, of religious sacrifice, or of alarm upon the approach of an invading enemy. In fact, the effects indicative of immense piles of blazing forest trees, the vitrifying action of which would be heightened by favouring currents of wind, as by a blast furnace of surpassing intensity, are most truly marvellous, oftentimes appearing to vie with the result of volcanic incandescence.

The thirteenth or fourteenth centuries form the closing period to which we must limit the data of vitrified sites. The English, in their expedition against Scotland, endeavoured to clear the soil of its encumbering woods; and it is recorded that, in an expedition of the Duke of Lancaster, eighty thousand hatchets were heard resounding through the forests, which at the same moment were consumed by spreading fires. Lastly, as Mr. Tytler has added, many districts were soon afterwards brought into cultivation, and converted into fields and meadow-lands. After the period of the destruction of Scottish forests, it would be futile to expect that any records would indicate the continuance of vitrifying causes. The hill which, as a signal of war, once proudly blazed with the lavish conflagration of stately trees, is now illumined with little more than a paltry tar-barrel! Sic transit gloria mundi.

With these preliminary observations, we shall now proceed to notice some interesting facts as connected with recent discoveries.

In a late number of the "*Philosophical Magazine*," the particulars of a vitrified fort found at Dunnochgoil, in the Isle of Bute, were communicated by Samuel Sharp, Esq. This fort (observes the writer) is on a rocky point at the south-west corner of the Isle of Bute, perhaps the point nearest to the Isle of Arran. It is at some distance from trees, habitations, and higher ground. There remains now little more than the ground-plan, which may be traced by the vitrified foundations; but at one part the wall is more than a foot high, built of rough stones not much larger than bricks, and by vitrification formed into one solid mass, much like the slag of a furnace. The parts can best be described by reference to the following figure.

From *g* there is a gradual ascent to the outer chamber *efgh*, which appears to have been surrounded on two sides *ef* and *fg* by vitrified walls. Between the outer chamber and the inner one, *abcd*, there is a slight descent, which may, however, formerly have been a ditch of some depth. This chamber was apparently fortified by vitrified walls, not only outwards on the sides *ab* and *bc*, but also

on the side cd against the outer chamber. The remains of the wall are mostly little more than foundations, but for part of the way between b and c it is more than a foot high.

There were no traces of art to prove that the neighbouring height π was any part of the fort, though it is made probable by the absence of all remains of wall on the side $adhg$. The walls were probably only 2 or 3 feet thick, which, at least on three sides, was all that was necessary where the situation made them only accessible to missiles; and if there were originally any others besides those mentioned, they were probably not vitrified, as no traces of them are now apparent: the ground below is scattered with fragments of rocks, some of which doubtless formed the walls.

The heights were estimated by guess, and the distances by pacing, and have no claims to exactness. Ab perhaps 70 feet above the shore, nearly perpendicular; $bcef$ ditto, not so perpendicular; l 15, π 40, a rather steep ascent; ad and hg 40, nearly perpendicular.

Between d and h the side is kept perpendicular by building, without vitrification or apparent cement. Each chamber is about 40 paces long and 25 paces wide, the space between the chamber 3 paces, the gradual ascent from g above 100 paces.

The sides bab and bfq are each about 100 yards from the sea; and near b are the traces of a landing-place on the beach, which, however, must be either modern or accidental, as they could hardly have withstood the waves of so many centuries.

Dr. MacCulloch, after describing in the "Geological Transactions," vol. ii., the fort of Dun MacSniochan, near Oban, combats at length and successfully the opinion that the vitrification was the effect of natural causes; but the opinion could never have been held by one who had seen this fort in Bute, where the traces of art are so evident and so undeniable. The wall must have been first built and then made compact and solid by vitrification, which must have required a considerable fire to be moved from place to place, as the work proceeded.

In the *Edinburgh Journal of Science* for October last there appears an interesting communication by Dr. Hibbert on the discovery of some very extensive vitrified remains at Elsness, in Orkney, where no such remains have heretofore been discovered. Although we read in the "Orkneyinga Saga" of numerous beacon-signals having been lighted up in Orkney and Shetland, yet, as these islands, from remote historic times, had been destitute of forests, no fire had been raised of sufficient intensity to leave any marks of vitrification whatever upon the mounds of stone on which the inflammable materials had rested.

Elsness, lying to the south of the island of Sanday, is a promontory rather more than a mile long from north to south, and about half a mile broad. It was evidently the stronghold of a Scandinavian

chief, one of the ancient sea-kings, being dignified by the presence upon it of the remains of a burgh, or circular fort, as well as of a large sepulchral tumulus, which bears the name of Egmond's How, and of a number of smaller cairns ranged near it in a semicircular form, which, perhaps, were likewise the ancient resting-places of the brave. Another contiguous site, which, by means of a low continuous mound of earth, is made to take the form of a large crescent, indicates by this particular structure the place of a *weapons-haw*, or the site where a tribe was accustomed, upon any hostile alarm, to repair fully armed. Again, about three-quarters of a mile to the north of Elsness, close to the ancient church named Mary Kirk, may be traced the limits of an ancient ting, where, in Pagan times, the functions of the priest and the judge were combined.

But the most interesting remains of which Elsness can boast are the beacon cairns with which it is studded over, many of these exhibiting unequivocal testimony of a vitrification quite as intense as is to be traced in any vitrified fort of Scotland.

These round cairns, of which Dr. Hibbert counted more than twenty, are from 3 to 5 yards in diameter, and elevated from 2 to 3 feet above the surface of the ground. The stone fragments, of which they are composed, which had evidently been collected from the beach, consist of what geologists would name an argillaceous schist; being, in this instance, an equivalent of the Mansfield slate. Their fusibility they have chiefly derived from the felspar, or rather the alkali, which they contain. The bituminous matter which may often be found to enter into their composition, and which, if constantly present, would materially add to their fusibility, is but an occasional occurrence.

Altogether, these mounds answer to the description given by Martin of the ancient beacons of the Isle of Harris, another early colony of the Norwegians: "There are," says this writer, "several heaps of stones commonly called *Karnes* on the tops of hills and rising grounds on the coast, upon which the inhabitants used to burn heath as a signal of an approaching enemy."

The result produced upon the loose stones, which in the form of cairns supported the fuel, is most astonishing. In some instances, the vitrification has extended to the very bottom of a cairn, showing an almost entire compact mass. Nothing, in short, can display the effects exhibited more satisfactorily, than by contrasting them with the appearances induced on subjacent stones by the fires of the kelp-burners of Orkney; where, if vitrification is at all produced, it is slight in the extreme, and rarely cements stones to an extent exceeding a few inches. This difference would indicate that a vitrification, in order to be considerable, must be a work of time, demanding that the same cairn, for perhaps a century or more, should be the unvaried site on which beacon-fires were kindled.

The cairns of Elsness are not, however, all vitrified alike. On some of them a single burnt stone could not be detected, while in other instances a cairn would almost put on the appearance of one compact burnt mass. Too many of them also were concealed by a thick sward, so that their character for vitrification still remains indeterminate.

From these facts we may proceed to the following conclusions :

For three or four centuries, that is from the tenth to the fourteenth, the Scandinavian province of Orkney, always impatient of the control of the mother country, had no enemies to contend with so formidable as the kings of Norway, who frequently paid them hostile visits, to reduce them to submission. Against these incessant invasions the Orcadians were generally well prepared by keeping up a careful watch in their more northerly isles, which, upon the first approach of an enemy from the shores of Norway, should convey signals to a fleet anchored in a convenient port, and ready to put to sea, there to contend with its foes long before they could possibly land. These simple historical circumstances are abundantly unfolded to us in the "Orkneyinga Saga." Our inquiry, therefore, becomes comprised in the following questions : First, In what part of Orkney were its ancient galleys most commonly moored? And secondly, In what manner were timely signals conveyed to the fleet thus moored to arm and put to sea?

The first of these questions is soon resolved. It is evident, that as hostile attacks were chiefly to be dreaded from the north, the most northerly harbour which could afford good shelter and depth of water for ships, provided also that it was situated on the east coast of Orkney, would be preferred : as these two circumstances of situation united would be requisite for readily clearing out to oppose a hostile fleet advancing in its proper course from Norway. Now, the most northerly island, lying also to the east of the Orkney group, is North Ronaldsay ; but here there is no harbour whatever. Nor is the island of Sanday, the next in succession, much more fortunate ; its navigation being greatly obstructed by surrounding shoals of sand, whence the island has derived its name. In short, there is no port whatever which could have afforded any convenience to early war ships, required upon the approach of an invading fleet to instantly put to sea, more north than the sound of Papa Stronsa. This harbour, then, which lies due south of Elsness in Sanday, being divided from it by a channel a league and a half across, must, from necessity, have been selected as the ancient Portsmouth of Orkney. No other situation could have been so eligible for instant embarkation into the Northern Ocean ; which superior advantage is even acknowledged at the present day, by its being the only harbour in the isles of Orkney which is deemed a convenient one for the prosecution of the North Sea Fishery of the herring.

The site of the ancient Portsmouth of Orkney being thus established, the next object is to show through what medium telegraphic signals, which consisted of beacon-fires, were conveyed to the fleet thus anchored in the sound of Papa Stronsa.

Shetland, which yielded a more willing obedience to Norway, was frequently in league with this power against Orkney, and as hostile fleets were often reinforced in the more loyal province, the intermediate island, named Fair Isle, of difficult access except to boats, was firmly retained by the Orcadians, and converted into their most northerly signal station. From this site an alarm fire, which would be first hailed in North Ronaldsay, would be answered by its inhabitants kindling a fresh flame in order that the intelligence might spread to Papa Westray and Westray on the west, and to Sanday on the south. Sanday would propagate the alarm to the fleet which was anchored in Papa Stronsa, with particulars of the number of hostile vessels approaching the Orcadian shores. These particulars, as we are assured by divers writers so late even as the time of Wallace, were usually signified by the number of fires which were lighted; and hence the many vitrified cairns with which the signal station of Elsness in Sanday now appears studded.

In order also to complete the efficiency of this telegraphic system, every Scandinavian province had its laws whereby watchmen were placed at the various wart hills of the country, as the Ward or Vord Hills of Orkney were named, who were required, under the severest penalties, to be constantly on the alert to transmit a signal of alarm to a fleet, or to the chain of beacons of which it might form a link. Accordingly, to the north of the small island of Papa Stronsa, a higher cairn than common, intended as a look-out place, appears, with the evident foundations of a building near it, which, no doubt, was the residence of the watchman whose office it was, upon the fires of Elsness being kindled, to instantly warn the fleet which was anchored in the contiguous sound.

Dr. Hibbert visited several of the more common *wart* or *ward* hills of Orkney, but observed the beacon cairns upon them to show little more than discoloration from fire, with the exception of one ward hill only—namely, that of Sanday, which is situated about two miles north of Elsness. Three of the cairns on this height were considerably vitrified.

Such is the general history of the vitrified cairns of Orkney, which may serve to set at rest questions which have been agitated for more than half a century. The first is, To what uses or observances is the effect of vitrification attributable? While the second is, To what people is the effect attributable? In a tone of confidence, therefore, we are now entitled to reply, That vitrification was merely incidental to the fires which were kindled upon beacon stations; and that the people who in every country which they occupied or colonised,

organized systems of beacon stations, were of Scandinavian origin. That, from the tenth to the fourteenth century, a considerable part of Scotland was overrun by the Scandinavians, under the various names of Northmen and Danes,* who reciprocally became themselves liable to invasion from other piratical tribes of the same northern origin as themselves, and were therefore induced to institute systems of beacon-fires, in imitation of those with which they had been familiar in Norway.

Notice of an Undescribed Vitrified Fort in the Burnt Isles, in the Kyles of Bute.

[1824, *Part II.*, p. 260.]

In the month of September, 1822, when becalmed in my cutter in the Kyles of Bute, I accidentally landed on the most northerly of the Burnt Isles, a small group that stretches across the Kyle, or narrow channel between Bute and Argyshire. From the appearance of a ridge, nearly covered with turf, I imagined at first that kelp had been formerly burnt there, but on examining it more narrowly, I discovered that it was caused by the remains of a vitrified fort.

The island on which it is placed is a flat gneiss rock, with about half an acre of vegetable soil on its summit. The fort is placed at the southern and most elevated extremity, but is not more than 12 or 15 feet above high-water mark. The walls form a circle, or rather an irregular polygon, about 65 feet in diameter, occupying nearly the whole of the highest end of the island. I could trace the vitrified matter all round, and should imagine, from what remains of the walls, that they were originally about 5 feet in thickness. They seem to be entirely composed of the gneiss which forms the rock of this and the surrounding islands. Many of the stones have decayed by the action of the atmosphere, previous to vitrification, and most of them have been acted upon by the intense heat of the fire, although in very different degrees. Some of them are but slightly glazed, whilst in others the felspar appears to be converted into a dark-brown glass, either run into considerable masses, or into veins alternating with the strata of quartz, which has become granular like freestone: occasionally the vitrified matter forms a white enamel.

I know not whether any more easily fusible substance has been used as a flux, but I could not observe any appearance of breccia, which Dr. MacCulloch, in his paper on Vitrified Forts, in the second volume of the "Transactions of the Geological Society," states to have been generally used for that purpose.

Within the walls the flat surface of the rock is exposed. Near it there is a small hollow, which was perhaps a well or cistern: there is

* See our Review, p. 605 [Note 36].

also at a little distance an appearance of a ditch, which, if artificial, was probably intended to strengthen the defence on that side.

There are some peculiarities in the situation of this fort which appear to me decisive of the question which is still agitated whether the vitrification is the effect of accident or design. Those who advocate the former opinion have supposed that they were produced by ancient volcanoes—by destruction by fire—or more recently, by the repeated action of signal fires. It is quite unnecessary to say anything here as to their volcanic origin;* and I think it proved by the experiments of Dr. MacCulloch, that, from the intensity of heat required to melt the most fusible of the rocks, it is impossible that any single conflagration could have produced such effects.

In an article in the ninth volume of the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia," written, I believe, by Sir George Mackenzie, these effects are attributed "to making signals by fires," chiefly because those hitherto known have been placed in commanding situations. I apprehend, however, that this will not account for the fort in question, because, in the first place, the situation, in a flat, surrounded on all sides by hills of considerable elevation, does not appear at all calculated for such a purpose; and, in the next place, the regularity of its form seems still more inconsistent with the effects of any accidental cause. We must, therefore, I think, conclude that, in whatever manner these singular buildings were constructed, or for whatever purpose, they are the effects of design. They were probably constructed at a period before the country was cleared of its original forests, where abundance of fuel and ignorance of the modes of cementing stone had induced the inhabitants to resort to the expedient of joining them by fusion (*Trans. R. S. of Edinburgh*, x., 79).

J. SMITH.

* Since this paper was written, the theory of their volcanic origin has been revived by Dr. Hibbert, in consequence of an examination of the Fort of Finhaven, in the county of Forfar. I have not seen that fort, but I cannot imagine that it will apply to the one in question, which is of a regular form, and placed on the flat surface of a primitive rock. Neither can it be accounted for by supposing that volcanic productions have been brought from a distance for the purpose of building, because both from the size of the vitrified masses, and from the downward direction in which the fused matter has run, we must conclude that the vitrification has taken place after the walls were built.



Notes.



N O T E S.

1 (page 24). Speculative philology is no longer allowable. The true derivation of the word "church," as given by Professor Skeat, is from the Greek, though it is noted that "the etymology has been doubted on account of the rareness of the Greek word *κυριακόν*; but it occurs in the canon of the sixth Council, and Jonaras, in commenting on the passage, says that the name of *κυριακόν* for 'church' was frequently used."

2 (page 32). The Brehon Laws have nearly all been published, and the student should consult Sir Henry Maine's *Early History of Institutions*, 1875, for a scientific examination of these archaic laws.

3 (page 43). The whole of this interesting communication contains information of great value on early political life, and, in connection with it, I may refer the reader to an article in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1832, Part II., pp. 221-223, reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine Library: Archaeology, Part I.*, pp. 284-288; and also to my work dealing with the whole subject, *Primitive Folkmoets*, published in 1880, but in which the above articles were not, unfortunately, noticed. A letter in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1865, Part II., pp. 83-85, contains the following paragraphs of interest:

"When he is citing (at p. 436) the passages of Scripture in which allusion is made to the custom of loosing the shoe, as accompanying the act of investiture into office, Mr. Brash leads us along with him till he makes us feel almost disappointed that he has not admitted Mark i. 7 and its parallels among the texts which he has quoted. Those passages cannot be mistaken: their plain and generally accepted meaning is a true one. St. John the Baptizer did indeed make use of an expression which implied deep humility; and so we are right in interpreting the passages to mean that he would not have considered himself worthy to perform even the most menial act of service to our Saviour; such an act, viz., as the tying or the untying of a shoe among us might be considered; but in the light of Mr. Brash's commentary (shall I call it?) I, for one, and I dare to say many besides, will see also now, in those passages, something besides this: there is clearly an allusion to the practice of loosing the sandal, or shoe, at the time of investiture into office, etc., and so the passages will be, henceforth, somewhat more full of meaning to us than they were. The Baptizer signified that he was not worthy to have been even the forerunner of the Saviour; not worthy either to go before Him, or to follow Him, in any office or capacity whatever.

"On the allusion to the custom of taking off the shoe in holy places (Josh. v. 15; Exod. iii. 5) at p. 436, it may interest some of your readers to know that this outward mark of reverence is still in use in Algeria upon entering the mosques. The shoe or slipper is invariably left at the door. Serious offence would be given by any who should presume to enter the sacred precincts in boot or shoe, and summary ejection would ensue. I may mention, however, by the way, that the

ingenuity of our fair countrywomen—equal as it is to every emergency—has contrived, in some degree, to evade the stringency of this rule. In winter the cold flagstones, even when covered with cane-matting, or with carpeting, would not be agreeable to the constitution of European invalids; they provide themselves, therefore, each with felt slippers, which fit close over their ordinary stocking; then over these they put on another warm stocking of worsted work—the more brilliant it is in colour the better—and over these again they put on loose goloshes or carriage boots of cloth. These last they ostentatiously take off and leave at the door of the mosque, and as they thus walk or stand among the worshippers, they appear to be divested of their shoes entirely, though they have a light shoe or its equivalent underneath the worsted stockings in which alone they seem to be standing.

“After presenting us with some examples of very ancient stone seats of honour, Mr. Brash mentions some of mediæval, and of yet more modern date. Allow me to invite attention to one which I have met with; it is of more modern date, I imagine, than any he has mentioned. It is in the island of Malta. As you will have anticipated, however, from my claiming for it no very great antiquity, it is not among those exceedingly interesting stone-circles of Hagiar Khem, or of El Minaidra (commonly attributed to Phœnicians), in the neighbourhood of Casal Krendi. In each of these circles, indeed, there are large blocks of stones, so arranged as to make recesses, some open to the sky, others covered by large slabs, and these recesses may, some of them, have served for seats of honour, or for standing-places, upon occasions of ceremony. I am inclined to think they did. It is generally considered, however, that they have all been altars for sacrifice. This some of them would seem doubtless to have been; for traces may be seen of holes and of grooves cut in the flat altar-slabs which may have served to drain off the blood of the victims. So much attention, however, is just now being paid to these stone-remains—a society is directing excavations in the neighbourhood of them; the Bishop of Gibraltar (Dr. Trower) and other local archaeologists are showing such interest in them—that I will hope the pen of some one more competent than myself may, ere long, be engaged in giving you fuller particulars of their supposed past history and their present condition.

“But to return to the comparatively modern stone chair in Malta, which I would introduce to your notice. It is at Casal Lia, there. It serves, at present, for the chair of the porter who receives the names of the visitors who are admitted into the S. Antonio Gardens, at the governor's country-house, and it may never have served any higher purpose, before it was placed there for this, when the Grand Master De Paulo built the palace and laid out those fine gardens. It is a chair, however, which is not unworthy of a brief notice; it is very capacious, not incommodious, and it is in very good preservation, and cared for as it is at present it is not unlikely that it may remain so for centuries.

“I am, etc. E. W.”

4 (p. 57). This reference is to an article on “Two Days in Cornwall with the Cambrian Archaeological Association.” The passage referring to the Mên-an-tol is as follows:

“On our way back across the moor we visited the Mên-an-tol. This curious monument, as its name implies, is a stone with a hole through it. It stands between two others, at the distance of 7 feet 10 inches from one and 7 feet 8 inches from the other. A few yards north-west of the westernmost stone are two others, one fallen, the other upright; and it seems probable that these are the only remaining stones of a circle. The holed stone is 3 feet 6 inches high by 4 feet 3 inches in breadth at base. The hole measures in diameter on one side 2 feet 2 inches, on the other 1 foot 7 inches. One side may have been bevelled for some particular purpose, or perhaps is the result of the hole having been made with a rude instrument worked only on one side of the stone. The hole of the Tolven, in the parish of St. Constantine, is bevelled in like manner. Superstitious practices have been observed at these stones in modern times. Dr. Borlase has

referred to such customs. Children were passed through the Mên-an-tol as a cure for spinal diseases, and some amusement was afforded at the time of our visit by several of the excursionists creeping through the hole.

5 (page 65). The barrows of Dorsetshire have been described in the *Gentleman's Magazine Library: Archaeology, Part I.*, pp. 98-111; but the examples mentioned in the text are not there described.

6 (page 67). In 1804, Part I., p. 409, is the following communication on Kit's Coty House:

"In figs. 3, 4, you have a rough sketch of Kit's Coty House in two different points of view, and though not finished, pretty correct representations. This monument is on the road from Rochester to Maidstone, and about four miles from the former place; it consists of three stones supporting one; the height of the side-supporting stones are about 6 feet, and including the thickness of the top one about 7½ feet; the latter is about 9 feet in length and 7 in breadth; they are supposed to be the tombs of Kentergen and Horbus, two Danish princes killed here in battle. "Yours, etc. H. C."

This is followed by another letter, 1804, Part II., pp. 611, 612, as follows:

"The history of Kit's Coty House, by H. C., p. 409, is so erroneous that I must trouble you to insert the following, by way of correction; though I do not profess to give even an epitome of all that has been written by different authors respecting this curious relic of antiquity.

"By 'Kentergen and Horbus, two Danish princes,' I suppose H. C. means Catigern and Horsa, who were slain at Aylesford, where this rude structure is situate; but the former chieftain was a Briton, and brother to Vortimer; and the latter a Saxon, bearing the same affinity to Hengist: for the battle was fought A. D. 455, three hundred years before the Danes molested this island.

"The most popular, I do not say the best, opinion is, that Horsa was buried at Horsted, a place a few miles distant; and that Kit's Coty House was the sepulchral memorial of Catigern; though Mr. King labours hard to prove it a British cromlech, used for the horrid rites of Druidical worship, when human sacrifices were offered; its situation being in a beautiful amphitheatre of hills, 'from which hills many thousands and even myriads of people might distinctly see all that passed upon the surface of the top stone.'"

"The late Mr. Boys (whose death I sincerely lament, having often experienced his friendly counsel on literary subjects) thought he had discovered in the name of Kit's Coty House a corruption of the Saxon *Lib coteȝ hoȝr* *i.e.*, 'the place of contention between Catigern and Horsa.'†

"This etymology, though rather fanciful, seems better founded than the supposition of Horsa's memory being yet preserved in Horsted; as villages of that name occur in several counties, and are plainly compounded of two Saxon words, meaning 'the place for horses;' as distinguished from the Cow-ley, the Shep-ley, and other allotments of our rural forefathers.

"I am also sorry I cannot praise the correctness of H. C.'s drawing. The top stone in fig. 3 is too jagged; and in fig. 4 the rules of perspective and shadow have been so little observed, that it is doubtful whether a side or back view be intended. I should presume the latter.

"Yours, etc. WILLIAM HAMPER."

7 (page 71). Mr. Lukis has recently visited and described this famous monument; and his account, printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1885, vol. x., pp. 311-313, is worth transcribing here. Mr. Lukis says:

"July 13.—From Kirkoswald I was enabled to visit this monument, which is about three miles distant, in the parish of Little Salkeld. It belongs to a farmer

* "Munimenta Antiqua," vol. i., chap. v. † "Archæologia," vol. xi., p. 38.

named Sowerby, who very readily granted me permission to make a careful day-by-day survey of it. I am pleased to say that the owner is much interested in its preservation, but resents any interference with his rights. He informed me that he had received a communication from some London gentleman, whose name he had forgotten, inviting him to place it under Government protection, but this he declined to do. He considered himself quite capable of looking after his own property, and of prosecuting anyone who should venture to injure the monument. As his residence is not many yards off, he thought it was safer under his own eye than in the care of some one, whatever his power or authority might be, who was living hundreds of miles in the south of England, and who had not any greater interest in its conservation than he himself had, and might very possibly seldom visit it. It seemed to me that there was a good deal of common sense in what he said, and, as long as he continues in the same mind and his successors in the estate follow in his footsteps, the monument will be safe-guarded.

"I suppose there are very few persons interested in ancient structures who have not heard of Long Meg and her daughters, but probably there are few who have seen the monument and know what it is like. Camden gives the earliest description of it in these words, 'At the lesse Salkeld, there bee erected, in manner of a circle, 77 stones, every one 10 foot high; and a special one by itselfe before them, at the very entrance, riseth 15 feet in height. This stone, the common people, thereby dwelling, named 'Longe Megge,' like as the rest her daughters. And within that ring or circle are heapes of stones, under which, they say, lye covered the bodies of men slaine. And verily there is reason to thinke that this was a monument of some victory there achieved, for no man would deeme that they were erected in vaine.'"

"If Camden's account be accurate, there has been a loss of ten stones since his day. Mr. Dymond reckoned 69 stones in the year 1875, exclusive of Long Meg, of which number 27 were standing; and I could count 67 only last year (24 standing). Several accounts of this monument have been published, and in nearly every one the number of the stones varies. In the latest edition of Camden they are said to be 100 in number. Aubrey was told by a correspondent that there were 70. Dugdale made them 200. Stukeley, 100. Smith, in 1752, 70 principal ones, and one or two more disputable. Hutchinson, in 1773, 67, including Long Meg; and lastly, Dr. Ferguson, 68, including Long Meg. It is very easy to fall into error even in the first rule of arithmetic, and very difficult for two persons to agree in their count of a large number of monoliths arranged in a ring, without the aid of a piece of chalk. When I was at Stonehenge I observed that a visitor had saved himself from error by thus marking the stones. No material error can arise when a methodical survey is made. The discrepancy between Mr. Dymond's and my computation must be owing to the destruction and removal of two prostrate and displaced stones.

"This ring is not a perfect circle, but is slightly ovate, and is erected upon ground which slopes gently to the north and more rapidly to the north-east. The loftiest stone (Long Meg) stands at a distance of 74 feet to the south-south-west, outside the ring on the highest part of the ground, and probably formed one of the stones of an avenue. The position of four stones (two standing and two prostrate) attached to the ring, indicates the existence of this avenue.

"A parish road, formerly bounded on its west side by a hedge, passes through the ring near its eastern verge; and when it was made, two stones of the ring were displaced. This road used to pass on the outside; and Mr. Sowerby told me he intended applying for permission to carry it along its old course at his own cost.

"Camden and Dugdale speak of two cairns within the area of the ring, and Stukeley seems to have observed traces of them. In 1773 there was not the least appearance of them; but there is no doubt that they once existed, and that we have here another example of my iron-railing theory on a large scale. On Eskdale

* "Brit." Cumberland, p. 777.

Moor, in the same county, there is an ovate ring, 103 feet in longest diameter, enclosing five cairns; and near Keswick, another such monument, 107 feet in longest diameter, encloses a rectangular chamber of Dolmen character. Mr. Dymond states that 'within the area of the peristalith (near Keswick) is a shallow circular trench, 13 feet in diameter, probably the remains of a barrow,' but I did not observe it.

"Long Meg is slightly inclined, and its perpendicular height is 12 feet 6 inches. Upon its eastern face there are three cups with concentric rings. In 1835, Sir J. G. Wilkinson noticed only one, which is depicted in Sir J. Y. Simpson's work on cup and ring markings (Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., vol. vi., Appendix, Pl. VII., and also in Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc. xvii. 118).

"In former times there were two smaller stone-encircled cairns in the locality; one has disappeared, the other is near a fence in a field at a short distance to the north-east of Long Meg and her daughters. I was not able to make a survey of it in consequence of its filthy condition, the farm-labourers having converted it into a cloaca. By the kindness of Mr. Dymond, who has sent me a copy of his survey, I produce it this evening. The monument is sadly dilapidated, and consists of eleven stones (five erect), surrounding a cist which has been deprived of its cover. Two of the stones are sculptured with cups and rings, which have been figured in Sir J. Simpson's work, and are shown in Mr. Dymond's plan.

§ (page 75). Mr. Lukis also reports on this monument in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1885, vol. x., pp. 313-320; and the following is a transcript of his valuable note:

"August 29.—I arrived at Shap, in Westmoreland, which Dr. Stukeley visited, in company with Roger Gale, in 1725. The mention of his name, in connection with Shap, will lead you to expect a repetition of his peculiar views. Accordingly you will not be surprised to hear this remark, 'Abury is not the only temple in Britain formed on this design of the Circle and Serpent. I saw another at Shap; but it is no matter for regret that he adds, 'I had no opportunity of examining it.'

"I have transcripts of three letters relating to this monument, one written by Stukeley to Gale, dated Stamford, September 24, 1743; and two by Thomas Routh, of Carlisle, to Stukeley, dated May 7 and October 17, 1743, which I believe have never been printed. They show the very slight evidence upon which Stukeley rested his theory; and further, the small probability that an avenue, such as he believed to exist, existed at all.

"In the first of these letters there is this paragraph: 'I have got a vast drawing and admeasurement from Mr. Routh, of Carlisle, of the stones at Shap, which I desired from him. They give me so much satisfaction that verily I shall call upon you next year to take another religious pilgrimage with me thither. I find it to be, what I always supposed, another huge serpentine temple like that of Abury. The measure of what are left extends a mile and a half, but, without doubt, a great deal of it has been demolished by the town, abbey, and by everything else thereabouts.'

"You will bear in mind that Stukeley, with Gale, was at Shap in 1725, and his volume on Avebury was printed in 1743; and it is in this volume that we meet with the first quotation given above. It does not appear that he and Gale ever visited Shap again, for Gale died in July, 1743.

"In the second letter from Carlisle, Routh writes to Stukeley: 'Agreeable to your request to my father, I have endeavoured at something of the situation of the great stones at Shapp. Beginning at the place they made their remarkable turn, I measured their respective distances, greatest heights, and largest circumference (which I have set opposite to each stone), excepting the very last, which appeared to be between three and four hundred yards from my last station, and about the same distance from the abbey. The numbers, added together, make near a mile and a half, which perhaps may have been the original length. The stones are of a very particular sparkling grit, with large veins of a reddish colour, and 'tis said will take a very beautiful polish. The neighbouring fells or moors, I am told, abound with such; and I observed great numbers of them, though small, scattered

up and down throughout the fields adjoining to the row of stones, which probably may have remained after the work was finished.

“Beyond, where the stones make their turn, there are four ovals or circles of small stones, and seemingly an appearance of the double row having been continued to them, but the stones are only small, so that they are not to be depended on; there is likewise a small circle of them beyond the brook. Several of the stones have been broken and removed to furnish materials for the walls along their course; and one of the largest I saw was shattered all to pieces with gunpowder about a year ago, which is the reason they stand much more regular before they reach the town and enclosures than after. There remains not the least tradition for what purpose or use these stones have been erected, nor seems to have been any for an age or two ago; for in an old description of the counties of England, and which a person at Shapp obliged me with a sight of, I met with the following account in Westmoreland: “It is thought that some notable act of achievement hath been performed here, for that there be huge stones in form of pyramids, some 9 foot high and 14 foot thick, ranged for a mile in length directly in a row and equally distant, which might seem to have been there purposely pitched in memory thereof; but what that act was is not now known, but quite worn out of remembrance by time’s injury.”

“I took notice of one or two that were fallen that their lower parts have been smoothed for a base to stand on. There are several stones, though of no great bigness, of this same grit, which is very particular, for a considerable way on the road towards Penreth, seemingly lineal, but whether placed with design or natural I am not able to determine.

“I am informed that near a moss between Kirkoswald and Brampton there is a similar circle* of stones to these at Salkeld, but less in proportion.

“I shall be extremely glad if what I have done should in the least answer the expectations of your reverence, but am much afraid, it being the first thing of the kind I have attempted, it will be scarce possible not to have fallen into numberless faults and errors; but I hope, as it will come into so eminent a hand, they will easily be rectified so as to become intelligible. I shall be glad to be favoured with your commands in whatever alterations or re-examinations you chuse to have made, which I shall execute with the greatest pleasure, as well as any other command you will please to lay upon, Rev^d Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, THO^s ROUTH.’

“P.S.—The interval between the opposite rows was about 24 yards, which I have doubled at the turn of the stones, fearing it would otherwise have appeared too much crowded.’

“In the third letter, dated Thirsk, October 17, 1743, Routh again writes to Stukeley: ‘Agreeable to your commands I went and reviewed the great stones at Shapp, which appear almost exactly conformable to the sketch you were pleased to give us of Abury. The southern avenue, where the smaller circles are, terminates, according to your opinion, on high ground, and the northern or lower towards the Abbey. Near the middle of the town of Shapp, the ground rises with a considerable ascent, which on the south and west sides seems somewhat circular, but not the least appearance of a ditch and vallum on the outside of it that I could discover. Nay, even here the large stones preserve their parallelism, crossing the highest ground near the west limits, and directing their course towards the Abbey, nigh which they make a gentle turn to the east, where probably the tail of the snake may have been. Two large stones which yet remain, and are a considerable distance from the rest, seem much to favour such a supposition, from their having the appearance of a circular situation. Though even nigh a mile beyond where the inhabitants imagine the row of stones ended, I found several of the same sort

* This is probably an allusion to a circle midway between Kirkoswald and Brampton, of which only one stone remains, as I was informed by a farmer, who assured me he knew the place well.

of stones standing parallel, and still declining to the north-west (particularly on one side there were three very large ones placed triangularly), pointing to a piece of high ground, which seemed to have been surrounded with somewhat like a ditch and vallum, but its distance is so far from the rest that I was not able to make anything of it.

"I could neither find nor hear of such a thing as a tumulus on the west side. The Force beck rises about a mile to the eastward of the avenue, which it crosses and falls into the river Lowther about the same distance to the westward. . . .

"If one may presume from appearances, there seem to have been several other avenues of lesser stones of the same grit, besides the great one. One is to be traced a considerable way towards Penreth. Tradition reports it reached as far as Arthur's Round Table; and Mayberg, you know, sir, is in that neighbourhood. . . .

"I should have been glad that my experience would have enabled me to have answered your expectations more agreeable to my wishes; but, as I had never seen anything of this kind till the other day that I had the pleasure of inspecting your curious draughts of Abury and Stonehenge, at his honour Gale's, I am afraid the best account I shall be able to give will scarce bear a perusal without very great indulgence."

"It will be well to consider what this evidence in favour of a serpentine avenue amounts to. You will observe that Routh looked at the stones with the bias of Stukeley's opinions; that he also says the fields adjacent to the rows abounded with boulders; that in one part there was only an *appearance* of the double row having been continued, where the stones were so small that they were not to be depended on; that great numbers of the stones of the avenue had been demolished and removed to build walls along their course; and finally, he confesses that as his survey was the first thing of the kind he had ever attempted, he may have fallen into numberless faults and errors; moreover, he adds in a postscript that he had not strictly conducted his survey, for that he had doubled the interval between the opposite rows 'at the turning of the stones, fearing it would appear too much crowded.'

"Stukeley was so satisfied with Routh's plan, because it seemed to confirm his theory, that I am the more sceptical with regard to the faithfulness of the survey.

"Now, from my knowledge of the locality, I venture to assert that Routh, with his inexperience as a surveyor, and without proper surveying instruments, could not by any possibility have produced a plan that would faithfully convey an idea of the monument. The ground is very undulating, and only a short distance in the direction which the stone rows are said to have taken is visible from any one point. At the present time there are two boulders near the railway station, which do not look as if they had ever been set up; and a third stone, near a barn, on the west side of the village road, at a considerable distance from them—at such a distance that I cannot imagine how they can have been associated in an avenue, or with each other in any manner. Then, in the second grass field, called the Band-Keld, behind the King's Arms Hotel, which is some distance off in Shap Street, there is a large boulder lying on the ground, known as the Druid's Stone, 8 feet 9 inches long and 7 feet wide, round which the village fife and drum band used to practise, and upon which the drummer stood. A mile away from the first-mentioned boulders, in a north-west direction, we come to the only erect monolith (7 feet 9 inches high, from 4 to 5 feet wide at the ground level, and 7 feet 9 inches wide at the top), set up on its smaller end. Upon its north-western face it bears a small circular depression or basin, 5 inches in diameter, artificially made. This is called the Guggleby Stone. In the adjoining grass field, following the same compass direction, there is a large prostrate, misshapen stone (10 feet long, 5 feet wide), and upon its broad flat end there is a ring 8 inches in diameter, enclosing a cup 2 inches in diameter, and another circular depression or basin, 6 inches in diameter, with a doubtful cup in its centre. Half-a-mile further in a grass field there are two large prostrate boulders 248 paces apart, one being 13 feet long, 6 feet 6 inches

wide, 8 feet 6 inches thick, the other 10 feet 6 inches in length, and 8 feet wide and three partially buried boulders in the same field.

"Supposing, therefore, all these stones to have belonged to the monument as seen and laid down in a plan by Routh for Stukeley's information, and said to have been 1½ mile in length, there exist in 1884 eleven stones, whereof one only is erect, and these stones placed at such wide intervals and in such positions that it is scarcely credible how they can have formed part of an avenue composed of a double row.

"Pennant, in his 'North Tour,' i. 297, speaks of it as 'a stupendous monument of antiquity, called Carl-Lofts,' composed of two lines of huge obelisks of unbewn granite, which commence about 1½ miles south of the town of Shap, and extend in a north-west direction into the demesne of Shap Grange. He says that the remains of it, in the best preservation, are on the common at its south end, where there is a circle of similar stones 18 feet in diameter, and where the space between the lines is 88 feet; and that the lines gradually converge towards the village of Shap, where the distance decreases to 59 feet; and that it is probable they met and concluded in a point forming a wedge.

"There is not a vestige of an avenue and small circle south of Shap, at the present time, but about three-quarters of a mile in this direction, and close to the railway fence, there are six prostrate boulders, part of a large circle which was destroyed when the railway was constructed and carried through it.

"Although Pennant goes into detail in describing the avenue, and therefore induces a belief that a double row of monoliths was seen by him, I cannot avoid thinking that his imagination was influenced by Stukeley's published conjectures respecting Avebury, and this thought is suggested by the words, 'It is probable that they (the lines) met and concluded in a point forming a wedge,' which you will remember Stukeley had said was the form of the tail which he invented and tacked on to the Avebury circle in order to complete his serpent.

"It is unfortunate that Routh's plan has not been found among the Stukeley papers. In vol. vii. of the 'Doctor's Diary,' 3rd September, 1743, the entry is simply: 'I received a drawing from Mr. Routh, of Carlisle, of the Druid serpentine temple at Shap.'

"Mr. Fergusson ('Rude Stone Monuments,' p. 120), after having visited Shap, has expressed in a few words the great improbability of the existence of an avenue. Owing to their ruined state, he writes, the remains of Shap are difficult to describe. 'They were, however, visited by Stukeley in 1725, but he complains that it rained all the time that he was there, and rain on a bleak exposed moor, like Shap, is singularly inimical to antiquarian pursuits.' (See *Iter Boreale*.)

"This is quite sufficient, in my opinion, to dispose of Stukeley and his fanciful conjectures. Mr. Fergusson goes on to say: 'The remains were also described by Camden ("Brit." Gough's edit. iii. 401), but not apparently from personal observation, and others have described them since, but the destruction has been so rapid, the village being almost entirely built out of them, that it is now extremely difficult to ascertain what they really were. All, however, are agreed that the principal monument was an alignment, according to some of a double row of stones, of which others can only trace a single row.' By an indulgence of the imagination I might bring myself to accept the 'single row' view. 'So far as I could make out on the spot,' continues Mr. Fergusson, 'it commenced near a spot called the Thunder-stone in the North, where there are seven large stones in a field; six are arranged as a double row; the seventh seems to commence a single line; from this, all the way to a place at the southern extremity of the village, called Karl-Lofts, single stones may be traced at intervals in apparently a perfectly straight line; and still beyond this, at a farm yard called Brackenbyr, Mr. Simpson fancied he could, in 1859, trace the remains of a circle 400 feet in diameter, with a large obelisc in the centre (*Archæol. Journal*, xviii. 29). I confess I was not so fortunate in 1869, and I also differ from him as to the position of the stone row. He seems to fancy, from the description of Stukeley, that it was situated to

the southward of Karl-Lofts, though he could not detect any traces of it. My impression is that it commenced with the circle of Brackenbyr, immediately south of Karl-Lofts, and proceeded in a north-westerly direction for nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the Thunder-stone, as before mentioned.

"The evidence, so far, is not strong in favour of a double row, or even of a single row, and as regards the great circle there is no satisfactory evidence. My own observations certainly tally with those of Mr. Fergusson, except in one particular, where he speaks of the partially destroyed circle close to the railway fence, as occupying 'the same relation to the stone row as the circle at Merivale Bridge' on Dartmoor, because the latter circle is not erected beyond the point where the avenue terminates, but at a distance to the south. This, however, is a matter of little consequence, for in neither case has the circle any close connection with the stone rows.

"I have gone at some length into the question of the Shap monument, because it is a matter of some archaeological importance to sift the evidence for and against its existence.

"My own impression is that it is possible there may have been both a double row and a single row, but not as being parts of one system, and that Shap was a necropolis, extending over a considerable area. Several circles have been mentioned by writers; and at Gunnerkeld, at a distance of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east from Shap, there is a ruined cairn with two concentric rings of stones around it, which resembles, in many respects, the Scotch cairns I have described in the foregoing pages. There are eighteen stones of the outer ring remaining, of which two only are erect; and thirty-one of the inner, of which one is erect, but leans outward. The ring is ovate, and about 106 feet in longest diameter. A careful plan of this monument, together with a descriptive account by Mr. Dymond, is printed in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society, 1879, as well as in the Journal of the British Archaeological Association, xxxiv. 31. Like the Scotch examples, this cairn has been used as a convenient quarry for walling purposes, and the mound is nearly obliterated. Mr. Dymond has 'no hesitation in expressing his belief that the prostrate stones of the two rings were never set up on end,' in which opinion I do not concur. He thinks there can be no doubt that it was a stone cinctured sepulchral barrow."

In 1844 it was threatened with destruction, as the following note will show. It occurs in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1844, part ii., p. 381:

"Notwithstanding the alleged increase of good taste at the present day, I find it is the intention of the projectors of the Lancaster and Carlisle Railway to carry their line through, and destroy, a most interesting remnant of antiquity, the remains of a Druidical Temple situated in a field, the property of the Earl of Lonsdale, on the road from Kendal to Shap, and about 2 miles from the latter place. I am surprised that the noble Earl should permit such barbarity, with such influence as he possesses over the Company.

"The accompanying sketch (Plate II.) of this curious monument, which will probably be in a very short time no longer in existence, may be interesting to your readers. It consists of thirteen stones of Shap granite, the largest of which is 7 or 8 feet high, placed in a circle about 40 feet in diameter.

Yours, etc. DRUID."

9 (page 77). The title of this book is as follows: *Choir Gaur, the grand Orrery of the antient Druids, commonly called Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain, astronomically explained, and mathematically proved to be a Temple erected in the earliest ages for observing the Motions of the heavenly Bodies.* Illustrated with three copper plates. By Dr. John Smith. White, Horsfield, 1770. 4to.

Mr. Gough says: "Dr. Smith, driven from his inoculating house by the rustics of Benscomb, to amuse himself with examining these stones, presents the public with an improvement on this part of Mr. Wood's hypothesis, or rather with a clear view of the place under this new idea, divested of all the parade of historical illus-

tration from the cosmogony and theology of the eastern and other nations. After giving, in fifty pages, an abstract of what other writers had advanced on Stonehenge, not excepting even that 'fool's bolt' shot at it by Gibbons, with as little probability as the reveries of Geffrey of Monmouth, Sommes, or Bolton, spends fourteen pages more in describing the present state of the stones, and his application of them. The doctor has given exact measures of the outward stones now standing, which being unequal, could never answer to an architectural plan. As to the name 'Choir Gaur,' he finds in Calasio's *Hebrew Lexicon* 'Chor' or 'Cor' rendered 'Concha Marina,' which he confines here to 'Cancer,' from the oval form of its shell resembling the choir of a church. 'Gaur' in Irish, 'Gauvr' in Armoric, and 'Gafr' in Welsh, signify 'Caper,' an he-goat: So that we have in this name the two solstices 'Cancer' and 'Capricorn.' He supposes the name of Stonehenge arose from the fall and poise of the great impost of the Trilithon, representing the sun, which hangs in equilibrio across the altar movable by hand."

10 (page 77). The title of this well-known work is as follows: *Munimenta Antiqua; or, Observations on ancient Castles; including Remarks on the whole Progress of Architecture, ecclesiastical as well as military, in Great Britain; and on the Corresponding Changes in Manners, Languages, and Customs; tending both to illustrate modern History and to elucidate many interesting Passages in various ancient Classic Authors.* By Edward King, Esq., F.R.S. and A.S.

Mr. Gough says: "The first volume of this work, which seems likely to grow to a voluminous extent, was published in 1799, and treated solely of the earliest periods in Britain, before the invasion of the Romans, 'the days of primæval simplicity and rudeness, the days of Druidism,' and of patriarchal manners, in treating of which the author has been led very much, by conclusions even on different grounds, to agree with the learned Doctor Stukeley, and to add new and additional light to the observations of Rowland, Borlase, and others."

11 (page 80). There is nothing of importance to note in this communication by Mr. Fosbroke. It forms one of a series of papers entitled "Latent Antiquities from the MS. collection of the Rev. T. D. Fosbroke, M.A., F.A.S., No. III., Cyclopean Architecture," and is printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1816, part I., pp. 509-511.

12 (page 80). These and the other communications on Stonehenge are not worth printing in the text. Taking them seriatim, they are as follows:

1752 (pp. 373, 374). "Further Remarks on Long Meg and her Daughters" (see *ante*, p. 72) includes a paragraph on Stonehenge, which, however, is of no importance.

1774 (p. 198-200). "New Observations on the Antiquity of Stonehenge," by J. J. It is here suggested that the larger stones came from the neighbourhood.

1778 (p. 168). "Strutt's Observations on Stonehenge," extracted from Joseph Strutt's *Manners and Customs of England*.

1796 (p. 648). A letter from "Junius," suggesting plans to be made.

1797 (p. 75). This passage is worth quoting. It is as follows: "A considerable change has taken place in the position of the stones, which form an extraordinary relic of the ancient superstitions of our countrymen. This is attributed to the rapid thaw which succeeded a very hard frost. Some people employed at the plough, near Stonehenge, January 3, remarked that three of the large stones had fallen, and were apprised of the time of their fall by a very sensible concussion, or jarring of the ground. These stones prove to be the western of those pairs, with their imposts, which have had the appellation of *Trilithon*; and had long deviated from its true perpendicular. There were, originally, five of these trilithons, two of which are even now still remaining in their ancient state. It is remarkable that no account has ever been recorded of the falling of the others, and, perhaps, no alteration has been made in the appearance of Stonehenge for three cen-

turies prior to the present tremendous downfall. The impost, which is the smallest of the three stones, is supposed to weigh twenty tons. They all now lie prostrate on the ground, and have received no injury from their aerial separation. They fell flat westward, and levelled with the ground a stone also of the second circle that stood in the line of their precipitation. From the lower ends of the supporters being now exposed to view, their prior depth in the ground is satisfactorily ascertained: it appears to have been about six feet. The ends, however, having been cut oblique, neither of them was, on one side, more than a foot and a half deep. Two only of the five trilithons, of which the adytum consisted, are now, therefore, in their original position. The destruction of any part of this grand oval we must particularly lament, as it was composed of the most stupendous materials of the whole structure."

- 1800 (p. 1062). A review of *Archæologia*, vol. xiii.
 1801 (p. 916). A review of Warner's *Excursions from Bath*.
 1806 (part ii., p. 600). By "William Hamper," is accompanied by a drawing of the monument previous to the fall of some of the principal stones.
 1810 (part i., p. 344). A quotation in reviewing Bigland's *Historical View of the World*.
 1818 (part i., p. 57). A quotation from Marshall's *Review of the Reports of the Board of Agriculture*.
 1821 (part ii., pp. 498-499). "Old Sarum and Stonehenge accurately described." Anonymous.
 1823 (part i., pp. 508-511). "Observations on Stonehenge," by Edward Duke.
 1827 (part i., pp. 406-407). "On the Etymology of Stonehenge," by W. A. Miles.
 1827 (part i., pp. 483-486). "On the Supposed Druidical Monuments in Wiltshire," by Edward Duke.
 1827 (part i., pp. 578-579). "Stonehenge," by Edward Duke.
 1833 (part ii., pp. 452, 453). "Stonehenge illustrated by Geology," by the Rev. W. D. Conybeare; a paper read before the Bristol Philosophical Society.
 1834 (part i., pp. 174-175). "Stonehenge," by F. D.; a criticism of Mr. Conybeare's theories.

13 (page 87). These communications on Stonehenge are valuable as descriptions of what the place has been at various dates. As to its origin, it is now pretty generally recognised to be a monument of the bronze period; and Mr. Boyd Dawkins, in his *Early Man in Britain*, pp. 372-375, may be considered to give the best summary of modern scientific opinion on this subject. Dr. Guest's *Origines Celtica*, vol. ii., pp. 215-217, should also be consulted.

14 (page 96). The communications to the *Athenæum* are as follows:

- 1865, Dec. 23 (pp. 888, 889). "Avebury," by James Fergusson.
 1866, Jan. 6 (pp. 18, 19). "Secret of the Druidical Stones," by Sir John Lubbock.
 ,, Jan. 13 (page 52). "Stonehenge and Avebury," by James Fergusson and Hodder M. Westropp.
 ,, Jan. 20 (pp. 95, 96). "Secret of the Druidical Stones," by Sir John Lubbock and "another correspondent."
 ,, Jan. 27 (p. 136). "Stonehenge and Avebury," by Sir John Lubbock, James Fergusson, and Thomas Wright.
 ,, Feb. 3 (pp. 172, 173). "Stonehenge," by Sir John Lubbock and Thomas Wright.
 ,, Feb. 10 (p. 207). "Stonehenge," by James Fergusson.
 ,, Feb. 17 (p. 239). "Roman Road and Silbury Hill," by John Tyndall.

15 (page 110). The derivation of "cromlech," according to Professor Skeat, is merely borrowed from the Welsh *cromlech*, an incumbent flagstone; compounded from *crom*, bending, bowed—hence, laid across; and *llech*, a flat stone, flagstone.

16 (p. 113). This account is to be found in *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1837, Part II., pp. 575-577, signed A. J. K.

17 (p. 115). This has now been partly accomplished by Sir John Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Act. This was passed in 1885, and the monuments therein protected are described in *Our Ancient Monuments and the Lands around them*, 1886, by Charles Philip Kains-Jackson, with a preface by Sir John Lubbock.

18 (page 116). This volume of the Spalding Club is Stewart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. The stone at Migvie is engraved on page 40 and plate lxxviii. of this valuable work.

19 (page 116). The stones of the Peruvians here referred to are thus described : "An Account of the Tombs of the Ancient Indians of Quito in Peru, and of the Curiosities found therein," accompanied by a plate.

20 (page 138). Cæsar's passage across the Thames has frequently been discussed. The *Gentleman's Magazine* contains some communications thereon, and these will be included in the volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine Library* dealing with *Roman Remains in Britain*. Dr. Guest, whose opinion carries great weight, declares for Coway Stakes. See his *Origines Cælticæ*, vol. ii., p. 382.

21 (page 162). This MS. is in the Bodleian Library, and though it has been frequently used by the editors of Aubrey's *Collections for Wilts* and others of Aubrey's works, it has never, so far as I can ascertain, been printed entire.

22 (page 167). Mr. Elton has discussed the subject of the early historical condition of Britain in his *Origins of English History*, and the following passage from the discussion on Mr. Hunt's paper may be worth some attention :

"Mr. Smirke said that he had examined with some degree of care the different public records which were likely to throw light on the employment of the Jews in the workings for tin. From a very early date the selling of tin was subject to a right of pre-emption; and he had very little doubt that the Jews purchased that pre-emption from the Crown, and thus they were allowed to trade in tin, but he did not think they were ever actually employed in digging for it; at least, there was no proof of it. The earliest records we have of the Jews dealing in tin are of the reign of Edward I., and these were continued in the reign of Edward II. and Edward III., and subsequently to a late period. From that time we have a regular series of documents enabling us to state the quantity of tin obtained from Devon and Cornwall. The quantity obtained in Devon was then much greater than from Cornwall, because the tithe of the Bishop of Exeter was fixed in respect of tin at a very early date, and the amount was much higher for Devon than Cornwall, whereas now the quantity from the former was not one-sixth part of the latter. In the public records of the time of Richard I. there was a curious collection of regulations for the coinage and sale of tin. He did not think that these were generally known, though they had been printed. They existed in the form of a book which was kept in the Court of Exchequer, called the Black Book. That, however, was not the earliest document on that subject. The trade in tin was not mentioned in the Domesday Survey, and there was a reason for that. That survey was directed for the purpose of ascertaining the value of the estates of the country for the purpose of taxation, and was for the King's use; but tin was considered a royal property, and consequently it was not likely to be noticed in the survey, although probably it had been worked by the Saxons. The earliest of our public records which contained a reference to tin were of the reigns of Henry I. and Henry II., in a series of documents which consisted of the annual returns of the Sheriffs. With respect to the intercourse of the Phœnicians with Cornwall, he did not consider that the image of the bull which had been produced afforded decisive evidence of that people having traded there. Mr. Birch, who was a great authority, pronounced it to be of Oriental type, and connected with Phœnician or Carthaginian worship. But supposing that this opinion was correct,

it did not establish any connection between Britain and the Phoenicians, as it might easily have been dropped by one of the Roman legionaries. We knew nearly all the legions of Rome that were in this country; and by long investigation we were able to state where nearly all of them were stationed. We also knew that in these legions there were troops drawn from various countries, and they would have with them the representatives of every kind of worship under the sun; so we could easily imagine that one of them might have dropped this little idol which he had used in his worship. With respect, however, to Phœnician commerce with the Cassiterides, it was quite within compass to suppose that those who had a superficial knowledge of a country might easily make the mistake of calling what they saw islands, which consisted in reality of the mainland, or a few islands off the mainland. Columbus himself made nearly the same mistake on his first voyage to America.

"Dr. Barham did not know whether the attention of the members of the Association had been called to the old opening at the foot of Carn Brea during their recent visit,* but if not, it ought to have been, as it was of great interest. Sir Gardner Wilkinson considered that it was Roman work, and it was undoubtedly a striking example of the engineering skill employed in mining operations in this country at an early date."

23 (page 174). The burial of man and horse is a Scandinavian custom. Examples were given in *Gentleman's Magazine Library, Archaeology, Part I.*, p. 123, and some further notes from the *Gentleman's Magazine* are given in the *Notes* to the same volume, pp. 310, 311. Cf. also p. 303 of the present volume, and *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. x. (1885), p. 349. In *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1843, p. 640, is the following instance:

"Some men digging for gravel in a field in Factory Lane, Driffield, Yorkshire, in the occupation of Mr. Sawden Davison, lately discovered nine human skeletons, of unusually large size. On putting together the bones of one of them it was found to measure seven feet in height. The skeleton of a horse was found at the same time. The bones were again committed to their native clay. In a plain commencing near Wetwang, about six miles distant, and some part of it running in a line almost parallel with the Driffield becks, and ending near Bell Mills, human bones and warlike implements are often ploughed out and dug up, and it is reasonable to suppose that the tract in question has at some time formed the site of an encampment, and probably of some deadly engagement."

24 (page 217). Offa's Dike is discussed by Dr. Guest in his *Origines Celtice*, vol. ii., pp. 273, 276.

25 (page 222). No answer appears to have been made to this appeal. Later authorities have decided the so-called Devil's Dyke to be "clearly a work of defence against enemies advancing from the fens, and as a defence to the East Anglians it was of priceless value." The name is probably a Christian version of Woden's Dyke, or Wansdyke.—Green's *Making of England*, p. 53. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1845, part i., p. 38, J. P. suggests a derivation for Devil's Dyke from *Diphwys*, a steep place or precipice; and A. J. K., in 1845, part i., pp. 267, 268, confutes this derivation, and adds:

"How will the British word signifying a steep precipice or profundity be applicable to upright stones, and other objects by no means to be classed under such a description? Four huge stones, of an upright form, near Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire, are called the *Devil's Bolts* or *Arrows*, as having been projected from the bow of the arch-fiend. Three upright stones at Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire are called the *Devil's Quoits*, the disks he is supposed to have used at the game. The term *devil's highway*, given to many roads of the Romans in Britain, is of too frequent occurrence to need particular specification. It may be added to my notes on the Devil's Dyke that there is a huge artificial mound at Thetford,

* On Wednesday, Aug. 27. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov., 1862, p. 573.

formed, the country people say, by the devil scraping his shoes after he had dug his dyke on Newmarket Heath.

"I do not consider the derivation given by your correspondent for the Devil's Punch Bowl on the Portsmouth Road by any means happy, *diphwys*, steep, *paul*, a bowl or hollow place. This huge bowl being found empty, some jovial sailor, travelling, I suppose, on the Portsmouth coach, added the *paunch*.

"In speaking of Graham's Dyke, I should not have omitted to mention the rampart called Grimsditch, crossing the Roman Road from Old Sarum to Dorchester.

"I am happy to observe that in the Additions to Camden's 'Britannia,' by Gibson, a hint is afforded in corroboration of my suggestion that the Devil's Dyke in Cambridgeshire may be a Roman work. 'It is said that in digging through the Devil's Ditch on Newmarket Heath, near Ixning, they met with some ancient pieces. If they are still preserved, it is probable they would afford us some light who were the authors of that vast work. A late author has affirmed that they bore the inscriptions of divers Roman emperors, but upon what authority I know not.'"

"The day may not be far distant when the Roman origin of this stupendous fortification may be demonstrated to greater certainty; but, however that may be, it will still retain the mysterious appellation conferred on it by popular superstition."

26 (page 227). The latest authority upon this remarkable monument of antiquity is Mr. E. A. Freeman, who in his *English Towns and Districts* devotes a chapter to Wareham.

27 (page 233). A needless amount of discussion has taken place on this battle-place. In the *Antiquary*, 1885, vol. xii., pp. 168-171, is an article, and some correspondence followed this. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1838, part ii., pp. 496-500, gives in parallel columns the Anglo-Saxon original, Ellis's literal rendering, and Bosworth's literal version of the Ode on Athelstan's Victory, and Dr. Guest discusses the Brunanburgh War-Song in 1848, part ii., pp. 26-29.

28 (page 242). See Aubrey's *Collections for Wilts*, pp. 14-16, for some traditions in his day as to the place of St. Oswald's death.

29 (pages 260 and 275). The subject of the building of churches in wood or stone was discussed very elaborately in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1862 and 1863, extending over several volumes, and these articles will be reprinted in the volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine Library* dealing with English architecture.

30 (page 273). The following note is from 1844, part ii., p. 533:

"Some members of the Cambridge Camden Society, who have been touring through the north and east of Lincolnshire, have sent reports to their society of the discovery of seven Saxon towers: St. Martin's, Waith; St. Giles, Scartho; St. Mary's, Clee; Holy Trinity, Swallow; St. Nicholas, Caburn; St. Mary's, Rothwell; and St. John's, Nettleton. These parishes lie near the high road between Louth and Grimsby. They state that the fouls at Waith, Scartho, Holton, Caburn, and Clee are apparently all as old as the towers. They are rude cylindrical stones, with some coarse sculptured ornament round the top. The tower at Rothwell is, perhaps, the most complete example of this style. The belfry windows all remain in their original condition. The masonry is very rough sandstone, with large quoins. All the towers are of two stages, and have neither pilasters nor staircase. They also state that the condition of the Lincolnshire churches in the Wolds, and especially near Spilsby, is most deplorable. The state of dilapidation, neglect, and utter desecration into which they have been suffered to fall must be seen to be credited. Many of them are brick rooms in the Pagan style, rebuilt in the last century; some are quite modern, literally of no style at all. The parishes of Raithby, East Keal, Hundleby, Great and Little

* Gibson's "Camden," p. 379.

Steeping, Firsby, Irby, Gunby, Langton, Ashby, Scremby, and Aswardby, may be quoted as verifying their remarks; and the fact is noticed by them in the hope that the authorities will look into the matter."

31 (page 276). Bowles' *Parochial History of Bremhill in the County of Wilts* was published in 1828, 8vo.

There seem to be several mistakes in the use of the Anglo-Saxon letters. They are printed correctly in Weever, but wrongly in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Mr. Danby Fry has kindly supplied me with the following note:

L (G), is used for C all through. Hence, Lylŷnt = Glynt, not Clynt. And so Lŷpŷnt = Grist, not Crist.

The letter used for W is too much like the letter which was called "thorn," both in large and small type. In Anglo-Saxon writing the two were distinguished by the straight stroke being carried above the line in the "thorn," but not in the "wen." In the present proof (p. 274, l. 3, end), þær = thæs; it should be wær = wæs.

p. 274, l. 4. In the third word, the first letter should be w, not r: mjne rŷhtwissesta (rightoucest) helme.

ll. 4, 6. Ælc = Æc, *i.e.* "also," not "always."

l. 5. What is the first syllable in "Selandis?" It cannot be the definite article "se."

l. 6. Nis = nil, *i.e.*, will not. Forgyfan = to give up (not, "to pardon").

l. 5. Forsecan: some auxiliary verb is wanted.

ll. 4, 5. "Witodlice" is not the preposition "for." It is either an adverb or a conjunction, and stands in contrast with "soðlic" (which should be "soðlice"). "His lufian" = for his love (dative).

l. 7 (see also page 276). "Magorine" should be "magorinc" = kindred, kinsmen; "byst" is plural. "ŷs" is no doubt an error.

The identification of the proper names does not seem to be always very successful. King-helmes-ford cannot be (phonetically) Chelmsford; which, moreover, was in Essex, not in Mercia.

As to the 'wel' in Medeswelhamsted, see Sax. Chron. under the year 654.

King-helmes-weorth; King-elmes-weorth. Can this be Kenilworth? King-elmes-ham = Kenilsham (?). These are possible corruptions, but rather startling.

Strang-ford-byrig = Stan-ford (?)

Dheotisbyrg cannot be Tewkesbury, nor is it likely to be either Tutbury or Tetbury; at least, initial Ð (dh) does not usually become T, although pronounced "th."

All these names ought to be in the dative case, governed by the preposition "æt;" but some are so, and some are not.

32 (page 297). It is worth while drawing attention to Mr. J. H. Round's curious article relating to this subject in the *Antiquary*, vol. xi. (1885), pp. 25-30, 63-67, 134, 135.

33 (page 299). This is a quotation from Gardiner's *A Midland Town in the Reign of George the Third*. It is as follows:

"Within the precincts of the castle there is a large open space, called the Newark, where crowds of the lower orders resort on Shrove Tuesday for a holiday. In my father's time the sports were cock-throwing, single stick, wrestling, etc., and probably the practice we are about to speak of arose from a difficulty in clearing the square of the people in order to close the gates. On the ringing of the bell crowds, chiefly young persons, begin to assemble, armed with long sticks, used only as weapons of defence. About three o'clock the Whipping Toms arrive—three stout fellows, furnished with cart-whips—and a man with a bell runs before them to give notice of their approach. The bell sounding, the floggers begin to strike in every direction, to drive the rabble out at the gates; but they are opposed and set at defiance by hundreds of men and boys, who defend their legs with

sticks. The mob so tease and provoke the flagellators that they lay about them unmercifully, often cutting through the stockings of the assailants at a stroke. This amusement, if so it can be called, is continued for several hours, the combatants being driven from one end of the garrison to the other, surrounded by crowds of idle women and spectators. Attempts have been made to get rid of this rude custom, but without effect, as some tenure is maintained by it."

34 (page 302). Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places* and Beddoe's *Races of Britain* should be consulted on this subject, though it will be found that Mr. Thompson has given information not to be found in these authorities. An article in the *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archæological Society*, vol. vi. (1886), pp. 168-172, should also be consulted.

35 (page 305). The first of these articles will be found printed on p. 313. The second, 1827, part i., p. 624, is a Report of the Royal Society of Literature containing "A Memoir on the Vitrified Forts of Scotland," by the Rev. J. Jamieson.

36 (page 313). This is a review of Wheaton's *History of Northmen or Danes and Norwegians, from the earliest times to the Conquest of England by William of Normandy*.





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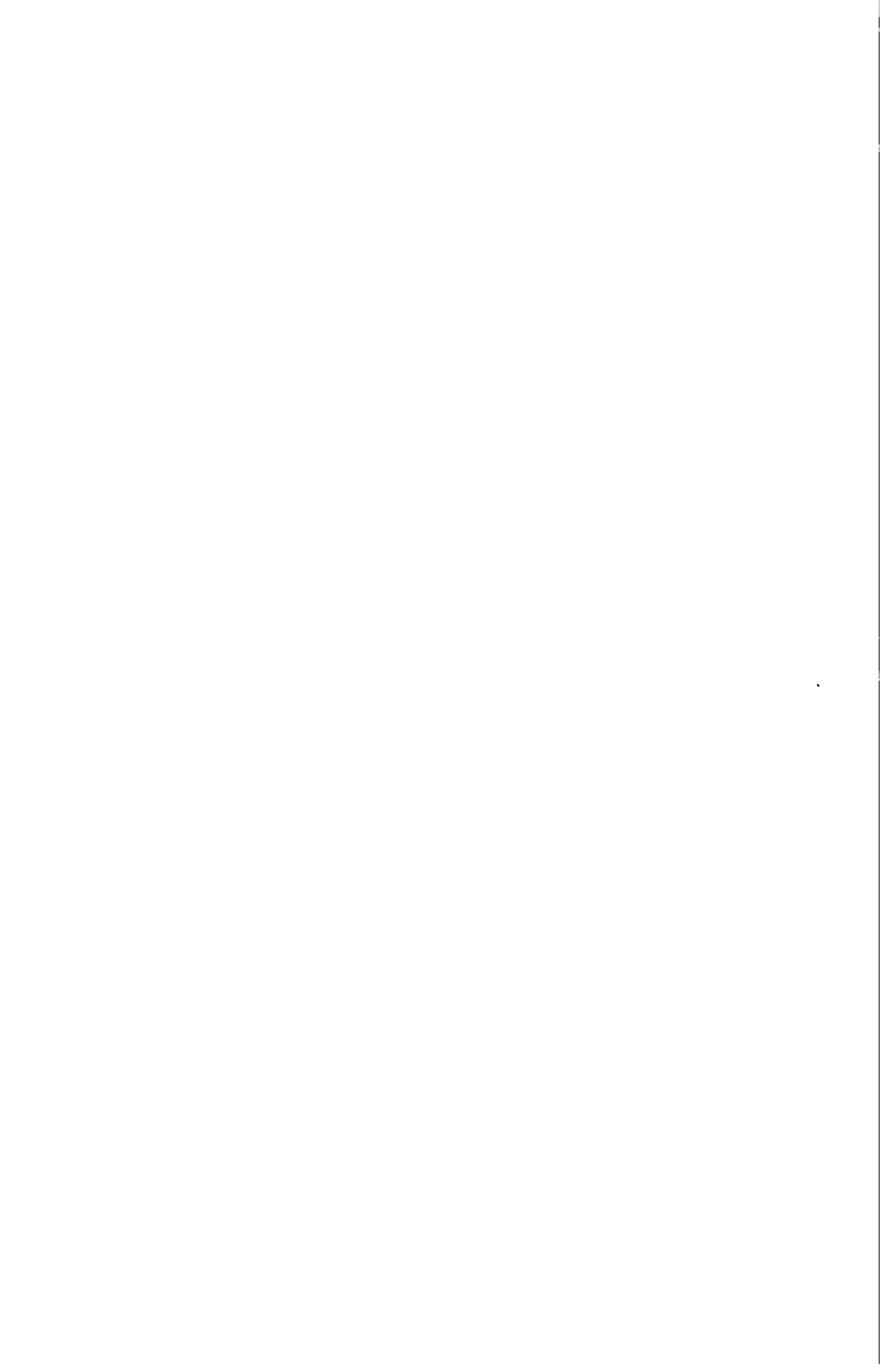
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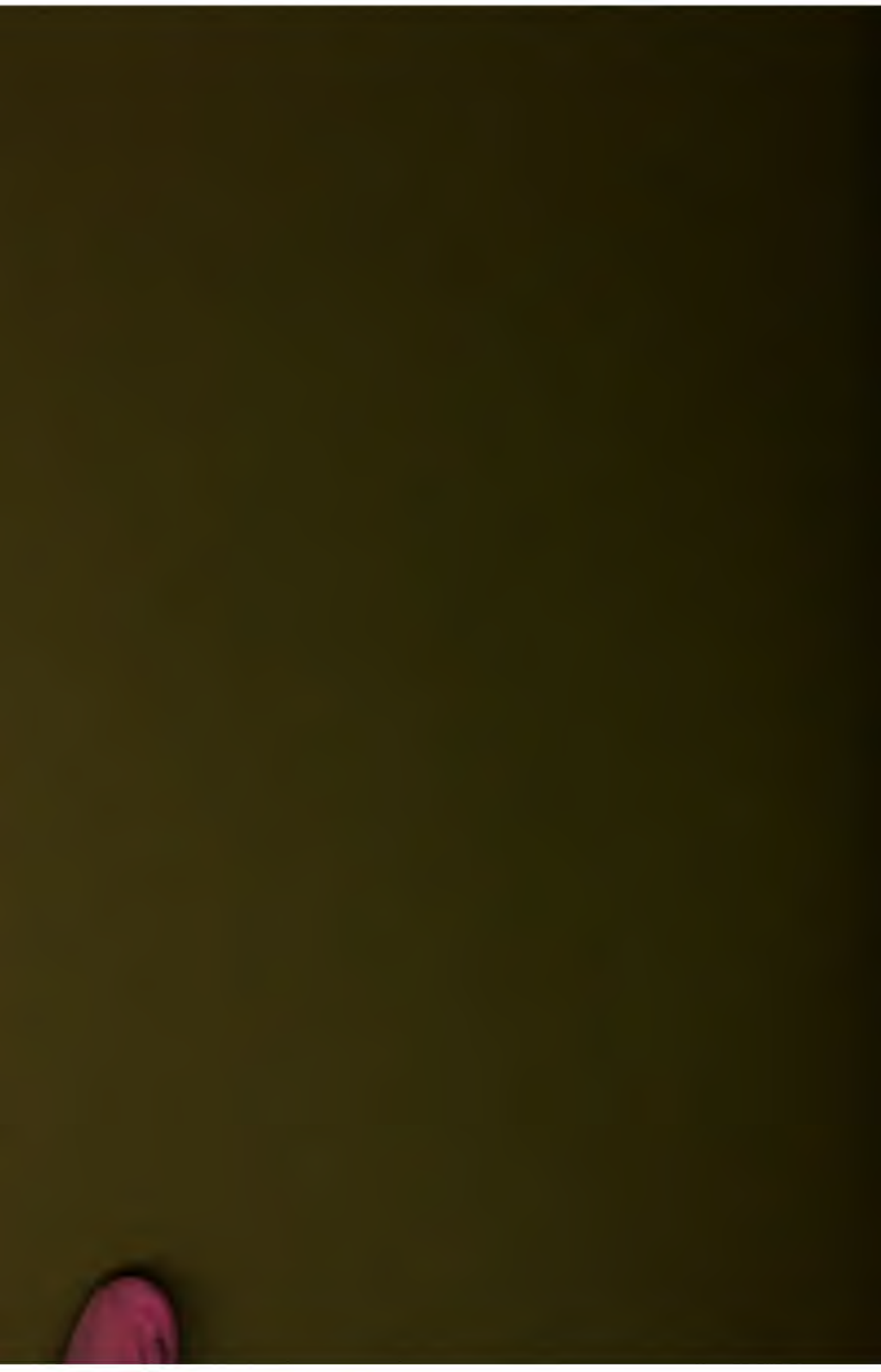
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